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PART I

ANTE-COLONIAL ANNALS.

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HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF NEW-YORK,

INCLUDING ITS

Aboriginal and Colonial Annals.

BY
JOHN V. N. YATES,
SECRETARY OF STATE, AND MEMBER OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL
SOCIETY; AND
JOSEPH W. MOULTON,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW, AND MEMBER OF THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.....PART I.

NEW-YORK :
PUBLISHED BY A. T. GOODRICH.
1824.

Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eleventh day of January, 1825, in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Joseph W. Moulton, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor. for himself and John Van Ness Yates, in the words following, to wit :—

“ History of the State of New-York. including its Aboriginal and Colonial Annals. By John V. N. Yates, Secretary of State, and Member of the New-York Historical Society; and Joseph W. Moulton, Counsellor at Law, and Member of the New-York Historical Society. Vol. I. Part. I ”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ” And also to an Act entitled, “ An Act supplementary to an Act entitled, an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JAMES DILL,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

HISTORY

OF

THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

PART I.

§ 1.

AMERICA became distinguished as the New World, at that auspicious period in the annals of modern Europe, which succeeded the knowledge of paper, printing, and the compass. The dark ages had vanished. Ere the dawn of this event in those countries which now hold in Europe the balance of power, and maintain the dominion of letters; literature and science had displayed, in those vast regions which submitted to the yoke of Islamism, a brilliant light, from the ninth to the fourteenth century. The diversified character of this splendid era, and its remote influence upon the revival of European learning and the discovery of America, do not fall within the scope of our design, or we might show, that under the auspices of Haroun al Raschid, celebrated for his protection of letters, and of Al Mamoun,* the true father of Arabic literature, who esteemed the literary relics of his conquered countries, as the most precious tribute that could be brought to the foot of his throne, and whose court appeared more like a learned academy, than the centre of government, Bagdad became the capital of letters, as well as of the caliphs, and the sciences pervaded the very extremities of their wide-spread empire. We might

* As to Arabian literature, see *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, by J. C. L. Sismondé de Sismondi; translated by Thomas Roscoe, Esq. Lond. 1823 and 4. Vol. I. ch. 2.

show, that paper, originally from China, the want of which kept Europe in ignorance, from the seventh to the tenth century, was manufactured in Arabia, in the beginning of the eighth; that the compass, the invention of which has been given to the Italians and the French (1) in the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, was known to the Arabians in the eleventh. (2)

Spain, a provincial part of Arabian dominion, was especially the seat of Arabian learning. Cordova, Grenada, Seville, and all the cities of the Peninsula, rivalled each other in the magnificence of their schools, academies, colleges, and libraries. The town of Stativa (now San Philipppo) was renowned from the twelfth century, for its beautiful manufactures of paper. In the fourteenth, the invention passed to Trevisa and Padua. The knowledge of the compass was also early introduced into Spain. Indeed, the geographer of Nubia, who wrote in the twelfth century, speaks of it as an instrument universally employed. (3)

Although the sun of science rose in the East, and first illumined Spain through the cloud that enshrouded Europe; although that power, preceded by Portugal, took the lead in the discoveries of the fifteenth century; yet for Italy, whose cities had been pre-eminent in maritime enterprise, from the period of the crusades, (4) was reserved the glorious distinction of appearing most efficient in the revival of that peculiar learning, and the birth of that personal enterprise, which were to meliorate the condition of surrounding kingdoms, and become the pioneer to an unexampled exploration into this continent.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Danté, by an effort of his mighty genius, erected the first monument to the revival of European literature. Petrarch* followed, and their writings imparted to their age the first impulse to the

(1), (2), (3), &c. refer to Notes at the end of the volume.

* As to Italian literature, see Roscoe's *Sismondi*, vol. II. Dobson's *Life of Petrarch*.

resuscitation of the classics. In the middle of the succeeding century, the ruin of the Eastern empire by the Turks* caused the expulsion from its capital of Greeks, eminent for learning and accomplishments. Italy, their asylum, now became the seat of science, as well as of the Muses. Emancipated from the terrors of reckless power; possessing, in the newly discovered art of printing,† an unexampled facility for the dissemination of knowledge; receiving a patronage in the munificence of the Medici,‡ unsurpassed for liberality, except during the golden era of Arabic literature; the votaries of science now presented Italy, in the sublime light of a country where the genius of the world had revisited the tombs of her favourite children, to impart to mankind, by the inspiration of her pilgrimage, the benefits of their long-forgotten labours. Europe consequently beheld a new race of men, vigorous in philosophy; enthusiastic in the cultivation of the fine arts; comprehensive in national policy; inventive, daring, and extensive in enterprise. But her most splendid and powerful kingdoms were compelled to seek in Italy that adventurous genius, which could direct their energies into those unexplored paths, which led to national opulence and grandeur. Italy, therefore, enjoyed the proud satisfaction of ranking among her sons, and of surrendering to the service of Spain, Christopher Colon (or Columbus) and Vespucci Amerigo; to England, the Cabots; and to France, Verrazano. Christopher Columbus was a Genoese; Vespucci Americus and John de Verrazano were Florentines; and John and Sebastian Cabota, Venetians.

The discoveries of these celebrated men were made within a period of thirty-two years. The first voyage of Columbus was in 1492; Americus and the Cabots, in 1497; and Verrazano, in 1524. In 1502, the discovery also of Florida by a Spaniard, became the foundation of the claim of Spain to Virgi-

* See Hume's *England*, vol. III. p. 428.

† In 1440.

‡ See Roscoe's *Lorenzo de Medici*.

nia ; though the prior bull of Pope Alexander VII. (in 1493) dividing the new world between Portugal and Spain, formed the basis of the claims of the latter to North America. Resulting from these discoveries, particularly from those of the southern portion of this continent by Columbus, and almost simultaneously of the northern by the Cabots, four questions have been agitated by the learned world, with more or less warmth, extravagance, and pertinacity, as national interest, national vanity, or literary pride predominated :

First, By what means was America originally peopled ?

Secondly, Was America known to Europe before Columbus ?

Thirdly, Who first explored the North American coasts, and discovered those and the harbours of New-York ?

Fourthly, What principle of international law should interchangeably govern the powers of Europe in their partition of this continent, and regulate them in respect to the rights of its original proprietors or native occupants ?

Conclusive answers to the first three are desiderata. The last was settled partially from necessity, by the majority of the partitioning powers. Adopting these questions, more for the purposes of a general division of the present part of the history, than of minute discussion, we shall, in the course of their examination, embrace topics not strictly applicable to the general inquiry. The second and third questions will in some measure fall within the first. The first and second will be examined principally to illustrate the inquiry, whence originated the artificial remains of antiquity and the aborigines of this State. The third and fourth will embrace a retrospection of those early voyages to the harbours and coasts of this State, the policy that prompted them, and the principles of European policy which evolved a disputed claim to the first discovery of this State, a conflicting European title to its territory, and local colonial disputes respecting its boundary and jurisdictional limits.

§ 2.

FIRST. *By what means was America originally peopled?*

The controversy from the discussion of this question, which for nearly three centuries has elicited the talents of writers in almost every tongue and nation, is too diffuse to admit, in its present application more than a condensed sketch of the various hypotheses of the learned. The question involves a problem, the solution of which (if solvable) must become the result of a more profound philosophy than has yet been displayed upon it. And still, analysis might be tasked for a Linnæan classification of the multifarious theories which have confounded the subject. Some authors have deduced the ancestors of the Americans from Europe, and fancied that they had discovered them among the Grecians, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Irish, the Welsh, the Courlanders, or the Russians. Others have traced them to Asia, alternately to the Israelites, Canaanites, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Persians, Tartars, East Indians, Chinese, Japanese; each of which nations has had its advocates among philosophers and historians. A third species of writers look to Africa as the original cradle of the American race, and make them the descendants of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, or Numidians; while a fourth believe the Americans to have been descendants of all the nations in the world. (5)

Before we enter into any investigation of these theories, a delineation of the antiquities of this state, and sketches of the traditions of its aboriginal people, might become an interesting preliminary in the development of the main question. With regard to the former, we shall confine ourselves to that class of our antiquities which comprise the monumental remains of a people who once were, but are not.

In Pompey, Onondaga county, are vestiges of a town, the area of which includes more than five hundred acres. It was protected by three circular or elliptical forts, eight miles distant

from each other. They formed a triangle that enclosed the town. From certain indications, this town seems to have been stormed and taken on the line of the north side.* In Camillus, in the same county, are the remains of two forts, one covering about three acres, on a very high hill. It had one eastern gate, and a communication at the west, towards a spring about ten rods from the fort. Its shape was elliptical. The ditch was deep, and the eastern wall ten feet high. The other fort is almost half a mile distant, on lower ground, constructed like the other, and about half as large. Shells of testaceous animals, numerous fragments of pottery, pieces of brick, and other signs of an ancient settlement, were found by the first European settlers.†

The remnant of the ancient Indian defence on the east bank of Seneca river, six miles south of Cross and Salt lakes, and forty miles south of the fort of Oswego, was discovered as early as 1791, and described in the *New-York Magazine* of 1792, together with a delineation of ill-shapen figures, supposed to have been hieroglyphical, and engraved as with a chisel, on a flat stone, five feet in length, three and a half feet in breadth, and six inches thick; evidently a sepulchral monument. The principal fortification was described to be two hundred and twenty yards in length, and fifty-five yards in breadth. The bank and corresponding ditch were remarkably entire; as were two apertures, opposite each other in the middle of the parallelogram, one opening to the water, and the other facing the forest. About half a mile south of the greater work, was a large half-moon, supposed to have been an outwork, but attended with this singularity, that the extremities of the crescent were from the larger fort. The banks and ditch, both of this and the first fortress, were covered with trees that exhibited extremity of age.

* See *Memoir on the Antiquities of the western parts of New-York*. By De Witt Clinton, President of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York. 1817.

† See *Memoir*, &c. *ib.*

The flat stone before mentioned was found over a small elevation in the great fort. Upon removing it, one of the visiting party dug up with his cane a piece of earthen vessel, which, from the convexity of the fragment, he supposed might contain two gallons: it was well burned, of a red colour, and had its upper edge indented, as with the finger, in its impressionable state.

These remains were considered as unequalled, perhaps even by the celebrated vestiges at Muskingum.*

Eastward these fortifications have been traced eighteen miles east of Manlius Square, and in Oxford, Chenango county, on the east bank of Chenango, are the remains of another fort, remarkable for its great antiquity; northward, as far as Sandy Creek, about fourteen miles from Sacket's Harbour, near which one covers fifty acres, and contains numerous fragments of pottery. Westward, they are discovered in great number. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga, one in Scipio, two near Auburn, three near Canandaigua, and several between Seneca and Cayuga lakes.

In Ridgeway, Genesee county, several ancient fortifications and burial places have been discovered.†

The late Reverend Samuel Kirkland,‡ during his missionary tour in 1788 to the Senecas' country, visited and described several of these remains west of the Genesee river. The first, from his description, he found about two miles west of Allen's residence, which was on an extensive flat, at a deserted Indian village near the junction of a creek (probably Allen's creek) with the Genesee, eight miles north of the old Indian village of Kanawageas, and five north of the magic spring, so deno-

* New-York Magazine, or Literary Repository, vol. IV. p. 23. See a view of those of Muskingum, in *ib.* vol. II. p. 555.

† See Memoir, &c. by De Witt Clinton.

‡ Whose manuscripts are loaned to us through the favour of his son, President Kirkland, of Harvard University. They comprise much historical incident in relation to the Six Nations; the late Rev. Mr. Kirkland having for more than thirty years performed missionary tours to the Oneidas and others of the Iroquois Confederacy, in behalf of the Society of Scotland, and Corporation of Harvard University.

minated by the Indians.* That ancient Indian fort enclosed about six acres, and had six gates. The ditch appeared to be eight feet wide, and in some places six feet deep, and drawn in a circular form on three sides. The fourth side was defended by nature with a high bank, at the foot of which is a fine stream of water. The bank had probably been secured by a stockade, as there appeared to have been a deep covered way in the middle of it down to the water. Some of the trees on the bank and in the ditch appeared to Mr. Kirkland to have been of the age of two hundred years. About half a mile south of this, and upon a greater eminence, he traced the ruins of another old fortified town, of less dimensions than the other, but with a deeper ditch, and in a situation more lofty and defensible. Having examined these fortifications, Mr. Kirkland returned to *Kanawageas*, and thence renewed his tour westward until he encamped for the night at a place called *Joàika*, (i. e. *Raccoon*,) on the river *Tanawànde*, about twenty-six miles from *Kanawageas*. Six miles from this place of encampment, he rode to the open fields, and arrived at a place called by the Senecas, *Tegàtainèàaghwe*, which imports a *double-fortified* town, or a town with a fort at each end. Here he walked about half a mile with one of the Seneca chiefs, to view one of the vestiges of this double-fortified town. They were the remains of two forts. The first which he visited, as above, contained about four acres of ground. The other to which he proceeded, distant from this about two miles, and situated at the other extremity of the ancient town, enclosed twice that quantity of ground. The ditch around the former, which he particularly examined, was about five or six feet deep. A small stream of water, and a high bank, circumscribed

* Its water was said to petrify almost every thing that obstructed its current. A pagan tradition prevailed, of an evil spirit having resided here in former times, bellowing with a horrid noise, and ejecting balls of liquid fire. The spring emptied into the Genesee, and its fountain was about three miles north of *Kanawageas*. Rev. Mr. K.'s MS. As to Allen's residence, see Seaver's *Narrative of the Life of a Female Captive*, &c. printed at Canandaigua, 1824, by J. D. Bemis & Co. ch. 8. Allen's creek, formerly "*Gin-is-a-ga*."

nearly one-third of the enclosed ground. There were the traces of six gates or avenues round the ditch, and near the centre a way was dug to the water. The ground on the opposite side of the water was in some places nearly as high as that on which the fort was built, which might render this covered way to the water necessary. A considerable number of large thrifty oaks had grown up within the enclosed ground, both in and upon the ditch; some of them appeared to be at least two hundred years old, or more. The ground is of a hard gravelly kind, intermixed with loam, and more plentifully at the brow of the hill. In some places at the bottom of the ditch, Mr. Kirkland ran his cane a foot or more into the ground, from which circumstance he concluded that the ditch was much deeper in its original state than it then appeared to him. Near the northern fortification, which was situated on high ground, he found the remains of a funeral pile, where the slain were buried in a great battle, which will be spoken of hereafter. The earth was raised about six feet above the common surface, and betwixt twenty and thirty feet diameter. The bones appeared on the whole surface of the raised earth, and stuck out in many places on the sides. Pursuing his course towards Buffalo creek, (his ultimate destination,) Mr. Kirkland discovered the vestiges of another ancient fortified town. He does not in his manuscript delineate them; but from the course he described, they might be easily ascertained. "Upon these heights, near the ancient fortified town, the roads part; we left the path leading to Niagara on our right, and went a course nearly south-west for Buffalo creek. After leaving these heights, which afforded an extensive prospect, we travelled over a fine tract of land for about six or seven miles; then came to a barren white oak shrub plain, and one very remarkable spot of near two hundred acres, and passed a steep hill on our right in some places near fifty feet perpendicular, at the bottom of which is a small lake, affording another instance of pagan superstition. The old Indians affirm, that formerly a demon in the form of a dragon resided in this lake, and had frequently been seen to disgorge balls of liquid fire: and that to appease

his wrath, many a sacrifice of tobacco had been made at that lake by the fathers. The barren spot above mentioned is covered with small white stone, that appears like lime and clay; in some spots, for a considerable distance, there is no appearance of earth. Notwithstanding its extreme poverty, there are many trees of moderate size. At the extremity of this barren plain, we came again to the Tanawande river, and forded it about two miles above the Indian town called by that name. This village contains fourteen houses, or huts. Their chief is called Gashagaâte, nicknamed the *Black Chief*. On the south side of the Tanawande creek, at a small distance, are to be seen the vestiges of another ancient fortified town." Mr. Kirkland further remarks, that there are vestiges of ancient fortified towns in various parts throughout the extensive territory of the Six Nations, and by Indian report in various other parts; particularly one on a branch of the Delaware river, which from the size and age of some of the trees that have grown upon the banks and in the ditches, appears to have existed nearly one thousand years.*

On the south side of Lake Erie, are a series of old fortifications, from Cattaragus creek to the Pennsylvania line, a distance of fifty miles. Some are from two to four miles apart, others half a mile only. Some contain five acres. The walls or breastworks are of earth, and are generally on ground where there are appearances of creeks having once flowed into the lake, or where there was a bay. Hence it is inferred that these works were on the former margin of Lake Erie, whence it has retreated from two to five miles northward. Further south, there is said to be another chain parallel with the first, about equidistant from the lake. Here the country exhibits two table grounds, formed by the recession of the lake. The one nearest the lake is lower, and is secondary. The primary alluvial ground was formed by the first retreat of the water, and then it is supposed the most southern line of fortifications was erected. In process of time, the lake receded further to the north, leaving the other section of table land, on which the

* Mr. Kirkland's MS.

other tier of works was made. The soil on each is different, the inferior being adapted for grass, the superior for grain; and the timber varies in a correspondent manner. On the south of Lake Ontario, are two alluvial formations, of which the most recent is north of the ridge road. No forts have been discovered on it, although many have been observed south of the mountain ridge. The non-existence of forts on the secondary or primary alluvial formations of Lake Ontario, is a strong circumstance, from which the remote antiquity of those on the highlands to the south may be deduced; because, if they had been erected after the first or last retreat of the lake, they would undoubtedly have been made on them as most convenient, and best adapted for all military, civil, and domestic purposes.*

These remains of art may be viewed as connecting links of a great chain, which extends beyond the confines of our state, and becomes more magnificent and curious as we recede from the northern lakes, pass through Ohio into the great vale of the Mississippi, thence to the Gulf of Mexico, through Texas into New Mexico and South America. In this vast range of more than three thousand miles, these monuments of ancient skill gradually become more remarkable for their number, magnitude, and interesting variety, until we are lost in admiration and astonishment, to find, as Baron Humboldt informs us,† in a world which we call new, ancient institutions, religious ideas, and forms of edifices, similar to those of Asia, which there seem to go back to the dawn of civilization.

Over the great secondary region of the Ohio, are the ruins of what once were forts, cemetaries, temples, altars, camps, towns, villages, race-grounds and other places of amusement, habitations of chieftains, videttes, watch-towers, and monuments.

* See Memoir, &c. by De Witt Clinton.

† Des. of the Monuments in Amer. in Intro. See Abbe Clavigéro's Hist. of Mexico; also, Description of the ruins of an ancient City in South America, and a critical research into the Hist. of Amer.—by Doct. Cabrera, Lond. 1822.

It is, says Mr. Atwater,* nothing but one vast cemetery of the beings of past ages. Man and his works, the mammoth, tropical animals, the cassia tree and other tropical plants, are here reposing together in the same formation. By what catastrophe they were overwhelmed and buried in the same strata, it would be impossible to say, unless it was by that of the general deluge.

In the valley of the Mississippi, the monuments of buried nations are unsurpassed in magnitude and melancholy grandeur by any in North America. Here cities have been traced, similar to those of ancient Mexico, once containing hundreds of thousands of souls. Here are to be seen thousands of tumuli, some a hundred feet high, others many hundred feet in circumference, the places of their sepulchre, their worship, and perhaps of their defence.† Similar mounds are scattered throughout the continent, from the shores of the Pacific into the interior of our state, as far as Black river, and from the lakes to South America.‡

There is one class of antiquities which present themselves on digging from thirty to fifty feet below the surface of the ground.(7) They occur in the form of firebrands, split wood, ashes, coals, and occasionally tools and utensils, buried to these depths by the alluvion. They have been observed (as

* See Atwater's *Antiquities of the West*, in vol. I. *Archæologia Americana*, p. 121. and Pref. p. 5.

† The flying Scythian when asked by his victorious pursuer, where he would pitch battle? replied, upon the burial places of his ancestors. These were the common ancestors also of the authors of the above works, according to one of the hypotheses hereafter mentioned.

‡ For particular accounts of these antiquities, see vol. I. *Archæ. Amer. or Transactions of the Amer. Antiquarian Soc.* Worcester, 1822. Humboldt's *Monuments*, Clavigéro's *Mexico*, &c. Bullock's *Mexico*, Lond. 1824. p. 296. 326. *Mexican Pyramids*. See 7 v. *N. Am. Rev.* (new series) 14. Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*. Drake's *Picturè of Cincinnati*. Jefferson's *Notes on Virg.* Bishop Madison, in vol. VI. *Transac. of Amer. Philo. Soc.* Dr. McCulloh's *Researches on Amer. Balt.* 1817. Henry's *Travels*. *Description of the Ruins of an ancient City in South America*. *Mounds in Indiana*, vol. VI. *North Am. Rev.* 137.

Dr. Mitchill says he was informed) in Rhode Island, New-Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, and elsewhere. When facts of this description, so curious for the inquisitive geologist and historian, shall have been collected and methodised, light may possibly be shed upon the remote Pelasgians, and upon the traditionary Atlantides.(8)

Philosophers and antiquaries concur in opinion, that these remains of art evince the remote existence of nations far more civilised than the indigenes of the present race; than, at least, of any known tribes of North America.

The antiquities of this state are, in the opinion of Mr. Clinton,(9) demonstrative evidence of the existence of a vast population settled in towns, defended by forts, cultivating agriculture, and more advanced in civilization than the nations which have inhabited the same countries since the European discovery.

It is in reference to the stupendous and curious works of art, and not to mere mounds, that this coincidence in opinion appears. Mounds may indicate a race different indeed from the present, without evidencing any extraordinary advancement in improvement. Serving as sepulchres and altars, whereon the officiating priests could be seen by the surrounding worshippers, they might be traced from Wales, across the Russian empire, to our continent, and from the shores of the Pacific to the eastern end of lake Ontario.(10) They present, says Dr. Clarke after describing those of Russia,* “the simplest and sublimest monuments which any generation could raise over the bodies of their progenitors, calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble. When beheld in a distant evening’s horizon, skirted by the rays of the setting sun, and touching, as it were, the clouds which hang over them, imagination pictures the spirits of heroes of remoter periods descending to irradiate the warrior’s grave. These are the sepulchres of the ancient world, common to al-

* Clarke’s Travels in Russia, Tartary, and Turkey.

most every habitable country. If there exists any thing of former times, which may afford monuments of antediluvian manners, it is this mode of burial. They seem to mark the progress of population in the first ages after the dispersion, rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. Whether under the form of a mound in Scandinavia and Russia, a barrow in England, a cairn in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, or those heaps which the modern Greeks and Turks call *tepe*, or in the more artificial shape of a pyramid in Egypt, they had universally the same origin."

§ 3.

The inquiries now arise:—Who erected these works? Whence originated these wonderful people? Were they the primitive ancestors of the indigenes of our state? What is the story of their first migration and settlements; their progress from rudeness to comparative refinement; their retrogression into barbarism? What terrible disasters precipitated their ruin, exterminated their national existence, and blotted out their name, perhaps for ever? In reply—while there are a few remnants of tradition to guide inquiry, and volumes of conjectures to bewilder, not one authentic record remains of even the name of any of these populous and powerful nations.

In the revolutions of other people, in the downfall of other empires, relics are found, spots visited, architectural ruins traced, which history, or poetry, or mythological fable has identified with the fame and fate of the nation, or of some hero, statesman, philosopher, poet, orator, or artist, who was its ornament, and who reflected glory upon the age in which he flourished.

The classic remains of Greece and Italy, the venerable relics of Carthaginian and Egyptian antiquity, the spot where Ilium towered, and the ground over which were strewed the ruins of Asia Minor, are associated with reminiscences painfully pleasing, but memorably instructive and impressive.—

“The places where Demosthenes and Cicero spoke, where Homer and Virgil sang, and where Plato and Aristotle taught,” are now indeed the mementos only of the perishable nature of human glory. But even these are beheld with a melancholy satisfaction, because they are identified as the hallowed spots which genius and science had thus consecrated. “A market for cattle is erected on the site of the ancient Roman forum; the semi-barbarous girls of Albania, instead of the Muses and Graces, surround the once sacred fountain of Castalia; and banditti prowl among the laurel groves and deified heights of Parnassus.”* History and the Muse associate, however, with these degrading truths the most delightful recollections. The pain of the contrast becomes relieved by an effort of the imagination; and sympathy subdues the feelings to an intense but salutary train of reflections.

But who can trace amid the ruins of the temples, and groves, and fortifications, and once flourishing seats of the aborigines, the rise, progress, and decline of a single nation, tribe, or once celebrated individual, as distinguishable from the common mass of millions, who have been swallowed into the abyss of successive ages? Where are their sages, their heroes, their politicians, their orators, their poets, their artists, their historians? All, all are covered by a pall, and invested with a sleep, more impenetrable and profound than the total darkness and deep slumber of the middle ages!

Whatever has survived in the shape of tradition, deserves to be recorded.

If, in the course of our history it will appear, that throughout the eventful revolutions of this state, during the Dutch, English, and independent administrations of its affairs, principles of justice pervaded the treaties that extinguished the title of the former native proprietors to the soil we occupy, still we owe to their memory a debt of gratitude, and to their few and degraded descendants an act of justice, which should

* See Dis. before the N. Y. Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa, by De Witt Clinton, LL.D. p. 7. and authorities there cited.

prompt us to keep alive the traditions and just celebrity of the former, before our own intercourse introduced the causes that have led us to feel too much contempt for the latter.

A concise history, therefore, of the celebrated Iroquois confederacy, and of the Lenni Lenape (or Delawares,) so far as they owned, flourished, or declined, within the ancient territorial boundaries of the state, will hereafter embrace an interesting epocha. Their traditions, respecting their ancestral origin and the monumental remains of antique art, form the second portion of the preliminary matter to the main question.

§ 4.

The nations of the old continents have their fabulous genealogical traditions, analogous to which are those of our aboriginal descendants. All barbarous or semi-savage nations whose origin was obscure in fact, or has been rendered so by lapse of time, have ever manifested this fabulous inclination. It is the refuge of national pride, or it may be founded in those constituents of human nature which delight to revel in mystery, which are curious to pry into the secrets of existence, to discover, if possible, an intimate relationship between what is visible and invisible, and to enjoy at least, as an equivalent for disappointed curiosity, the conscious pride of superior penetration over vulgar perception. In giving to genealogical fiction the impress of a celestial or heroic antiquity, state policy has sometimes consulted national vanity, mystical priesthood has often wrought upon blind superstition, and ignorance has combined with both to render credulity invulnerable.

The Chinese extended their chronology of princes to the great Fo-hi, centuries before the flood. (11) Like the Trojan Æneas, he was made the son of a goddess. While walking on the bank of a river, she was encircled by a rainbow, and after twelve years she gave birth to that head of the Chinese race. But Confucius acknowledges that for want of evi-

dence, he could give no certain account of his nation beyond three thousand years. This carries their history near the birth of Noah. He has used a round number, which is not quite correct; for Noah was born 2500 years before the age of Confucius, and there are reasons for believing that about one hundred and fifty years after the flood, he removed from Persia to China, of which he became the first patriarch or emperor. (12) All pretensions to anterior antiquity originate in national vanity. The Egyptians also pretended to a divine race of princes, who were succeeded by a race of mortals. Herodotus was informed by their priests, that from the age of Menes, the first of mortal kings, to Sethos, who died about 2480 years ago, there had been a regular succession of princes, who reigned in all about eleven thousand three hundred and six years; and during this long dynasty the sun rose twice in the west and set in the east! Yet those priests could not tell when or by whom their pyramids were built, nor give any credible account of Sesostris, one of the greatest of their kings! The Hindoos outstrip all nations in this race of antiquity. They pretend that their sacred book, containing the institutes of civil and religious duties, was received from the Supreme Being himself, by a subordinate divine being, about one thousand nine hundred and sixty millions of years ago! From another divine being of the same rank, there descended two races of kings, called children of the sun and children of the moon, who reigned in different parts of India about three millions of years. An ancient historian, whose ancestors were the Goths who had been driven from their country by the Huns when they passed from Asia into Europe, speaking of the Huns, says,—that a certain Gothic king, removing from Scandinavia into Sarmatia in Asia, discovered that among his subjects were many witches. He banished them into a wilderness at a considerable distance. Evil spirits that inhabited the desert fell in love with those witches, by whom they had children: and these were the ancestors of the Huns. (13)

Some nations pride themselves in being *Autochthoni*. The Grecians boasted that they sprung from the earth. The Indians of the nine Mandan villages, whom Lewis and Clark visited,* deduce their origin from a subterraneous village near a subterraneous lake, through which, they believe, the good only will return and rejoin their subterranean ancestors. Their progenitors, they say, saw the light of this world through the apertures of a grape-vine, whose roots reached to their nether abode. The boldest, climbing up the vine, were struck with the beauty of this upper world, plucked some grapes and descended. The whole nation then resolved to exchange their dreary habitation for a brighter. Accordingly, about half of them had ascended, when a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it by her weight, and thus shut out the light and the way from the rest of the nation. Those who had gained the earth, settled where the Mandan villages are located. Instances of similar absurdity might be multiplied.† The whole human family, and every living thing, according to some Indian traditions, sprang like vegetables out of the earth, many hundred snows ago. (14) In this opinion, (which is as old as Epicurus and Lucretius, that men sprung like seedless plants, being engendered by moisture and heat,) the French advocates of one of the hypotheses hereafter mentioned as to the origin of the aborigines, might find encouragement. Even Lord Monboddo, in his attempt to identify his progenitors with monkeys, might have received the sanction of some of the western Indians.‡

The national pride which animated the Grecians, affected to despise any genealogy except that which made their heroes the offspring of the gods, or their first parents the children of the earth. A similar pride burned in the bosom of the celebrated warrior, great natural statesman and orator,

* See Lewis and Clark's Travels, p. 133, 9.

† See Lewis and Clark's Travels, and Hunter's Narrative. Hecke-welder's ditto.

‡ See Hunter's Narrative of Manners and Customs of the Western Tribes, p. 314.

Tecumseh, on an occasion which afforded an admirable instance of the sublimity which sometimes distinguished his eloquence. At the council of 1811, held with the Indians, at Vincennes, by General Harrison, the chiefs of some tribes attended, to complain of a purchase of lands which had been made from the Kickapoos. The harshness of language used by Tecumseh, in the course of the conference, caused it to be broken up in confusion. In the progress of the *long talks* which took place, Tecumseh, having finished one of his speeches, looked around, but seeing every one seated, while no seat was prepared for him, a momentary frown passed over his countenance. Instantly General Harrison ordered that a chair should be given him. Some person presented one, and, bowing, said: "Warrior, your father, General Harrison, offers you a seat." Tecumseh's dark eye flashed. "My father! (he exclaimed indignantly, extending his arm towards the heavens) the Great Spirit is my father, and the earth is my mother; she feeds and clothes me, and I recline upon her bosom." (15)

We have thus introduced (with a digression by way of relief to the tedium of detail,) these foreign traditions, with a view to couple certain similar fables prevailing among the indigenes of our State, and from their extravagance and inconsistency, we may infer that all traditions pretending to unveil the secrets of remote ages, are the illusions of fable, founded perhaps partially upon facts, which, in the progress of time have been perverted by national pride, misinterpreted by ignorance, and exaggerated by superstition.

The Indians who inhabited and owned this State, entertained traditions somewhat similar to those of the Chinese, Hindoos, Egyptians, and the other nations. They deduced the appearance of the submerged earth and creation of animals, from the operations of a descended goddess, beautiful in heaven, whither she returned after the accomplishment of her embassy. But like the Huns, their primeval ancestors were the offspring of an unnatural intermixture; and their descendants possess at this day a Gothic belief in witches. The

tradition is related by Vander Donck,* one of the earliest of our Dutch historians, and corroborated by Charlevoix,† one of the earliest French writers who touched upon the subject of our aboriginal history.

It sometimes happens, says Dr. Vander Donck, that when we are engaged in earnest conversation with the oldest and best informed of the Indians, they ask our opinion of the first cause and origin of man; and when we relate to them, in broken language, and in the best manner we can, the creation of Adam, they cannot or will not understand or comprehend that it has any relation to their nation, or the negroes, on account of the great difference of colour; and according to their opinion, the world was not created in the manner related in the first and second chapters of Genesis. They say:—“Before the world existed, and before mountains, men, and animals were created, God was with the woman: when or whence they came, we know not. All was water, or at least water covered all things. No eye could have discovered aught else, had there been an eye to see. The before-mentioned beautiful woman, or goddess, (as they say) on a certain time gently descended from heaven until she came to the water. She was pregnant, and had the appearance as if she would bring forth more than one. She did not sink deep into the water, but immediately where she settled down, some land appeared, upon which she rested and continued sitting. The land grew by degrees, and increased around her, so that in time land was discovered about where she sat, like that which would appear when the water falls and recedes from a bar upon which there had been three or four feet water, and upon which a person had sat till the water receded, and he remained sitting upon dry land. So round about this descended goddess the land became longer and broader, and

* Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederland, &c. beschreven doór Adriaen vander Donck. Beyder Rechten Doctoor, die teghenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederland is. 'T Aemsteldam. 1655.

† Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France. &c.

its extent was soon beyond the sight of the eye. Then grass and herbs began to appear; also fruitful and unfruitful trees, and in a short time all things proceeded and grew as they now are. Whether t at world, an account of which you have given us, and from which you originally came, was brought forth at the same time, we cannot say. But when this was thus finished, the exalted personage fell in labour, and was delivered of three kinds of fruits, to wit: the first was like a deer in every respect as it now appears; the second had the appearance of a bear; the third was in all things similar to a wolf. The woman nursed these fruits until they obtained their full growth; after which she remained a long time upon earth, cohabiting with these animals severally, brought forth various others several times, always more than one at a birth, and from these sprang all the men and animals of the various kinds and species to be seen at this day. In time, as well from natural instinct as suitableness, each associated with its own kind and species, and so continued to do. When all things were properly disposed and placed in a condition to subsist and continue of themselves, this *universal mother*, having accomplished her designs, joyfully ascended into heaven, where she will henceforth continue and dwell, delighting and rejoicing in preserving that love which the Supreme Lord bears her, which she endeavours to retain, and in which she obtains perfect joy and satisfaction: wherefore God also loves her supremely, and esteems her above all things. In the meantime, men, and all the animals here below, by mutual cohabitation produced many different species, which increased and multiplied exceedingly, as well as all other things that were created, and as they now appear. Hence it is, that all men, of whatever description, at the present day, partake of the nature and properties of one of those first created animals: for they are either timorous and innocent like the deer; revengeful, cruel, and in combat erect, nimble, and strong-fisted,* like the bear; or blood-thirsty, subtle

* 'Wraeckgierigh, wreed, oprecht en voor de wuyt.' Vander Donck. See Bingley's Animal Biography. Vol. I. Art. Com. Bear.

and deceitful like the wolf. That the resemblance is not more apparent than it is, is to be ascribed to the cunning of men who know how to dissemble. This (they say) is all that we have heard of our forefathers, and what we esteem to be true : but had they known the art of writing as ye do, possibly they would have left us more particular and further information : that art they were unacquainted with.”

The Mandan villagers, mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, may have derived their tradition from that which prevailed among the Delawares and Iroquois as late as the middle of the last century; or the latter may have had it from the former. This tradition bears some allusion to that which Vander Donck related nearly a century anterior.

In 1743 the Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus (a resident among the Six Nations, “a man of great truth,” says Mr. Heckewelder,*) took down from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief, named *Sganarady*, this account of their original existence :— They had dwelt in the earth where no sun shone. Though they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught with their hands. *Ganawagahha* (one of them) having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth, he went out, and walking about he found a *deer*, which he took back ; and in consequence of the meat tasting very good, and the favourable description he gave of the country above, their *mother* concluded it best for them all to go out ; accordingly they did so, except the *ground-hog*, who would remain.

Mr. Heckewelder asks, if the *ground-hog* might not have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?† Reverting to the Mandan account, it is possible that portion of the subterranean people, who were shut out from the upper world in consequence of the corpulency of the old woman, (who might have been the *mother* here alluded to,) was the *ground-hog* and tribe of the illustrious Iroquois !

* Hist. and Lit. Trans. Phila.

† 1 vol. Phila. Hist. and Lit. Trans. p. 244.

This piece of Indian mythology prevailed also among the Delawares; and however ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them (says Mr. Heckewelder) cannot be shaken.* They consider the earth as their *universal mother*. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode before they came to live on its surface. They say the great and good Spirit had prepared all things for their reception, but like an infant in the womb of its natural mother, their first stage of existence was wisely ordained to be within the earth. This might appear to bear an analogy between the Mosaic account of the general and individual creation. The *Minsi* or Wolf tribe, of the Delawares, have the tradition, that in the beginning they dwelt in the earth *under a lake*, and one of them discovering the hole, (leading through this upper crust) they left their dark abode, for a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven, and have deer (game) in abundance.(16)

These natives view all beings, endowed with the power of volition and self-motion, in a manner as one great society, of which they are head; but between whom and themselves there may have been, in the beginning, a relationship; hence, formerly, the rattlesnake was called their grandfather.†

The names of their tribes are those of animals. The Tortoise or *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendancy over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears, according to their traditions, this great *island*‡ on his

* Heckewelder, 1 vol. Phila. Hist. and Lit. Trans. p. 244.

† Ib. ch. 34.

‡ That is, the American continent, which they believe to be surrounded (as it probably is) by water. Red Jacket, in his speeches, calls it an island. In one of his speeches, in reply to that of General Washington welcoming the Six Nations at Philadelphia in 1792—"We, your brothers," (addressing Colonel Timothy Pickering, then United States commissioner, who conducted treaties with these nations,) "of the Five Nations, believe that the great Spirit let this *island* drop down from above. We also believe in his superintendency over this whole *island*."—MS. See the Hindoo mythology.

back, and is also esteemed as superior because he is amphibious. This idea of relationship with the animal creation prevails also among the western Osages. (17)

§ 5.

Having thus noticed these fabulous traditions of the first creation of man and foundation of nations, we will introduce some of a more recent reference, possessing a degree of authenticity entitling them to more consideration than the former. These relate to the immediate ancestors of our Indians, whence they came, who were the inhabitants of the state previous to their arrival, and who probably constructed the works of art which we have described.*

The Lenni Lenape, according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors, resided many hundred years ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. They determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a long journey, and many nights' encampment, (that is, halts of one year at a place,) they arrived on the Namæsi Sipu, (Mississippi,)† where they fell in with the Mengwe (the Iroquois or Five Na-

* The first tradition we derive from the Rev. John Heckewelder, who resided more than forty years among those Indians. Their history he has given with undoubted fidelity of relation on his own part, and with a just claim to authenticity, except so far as the relaters (the Delawares) in speaking of their political connexions with the Five Nations, might be presumed to have been biassed by an irreconcilable hostility towards the alleged authors of their national misfortunes and degradation—the Delawares having, by force or artifice, been compelled or induced for a long time to assume the character of women, or, in the Indian phrase, “to put on petticoats,” as will appear in the history of our Indians hereafter.—Hist. Account of the Indian Nations, in Vol. I. Hist. and Lit. Trans. Phila. 1819. (reviewed vol. IX. N. Amer. Rev. p. 155. 179.) Heckewelder's Narrative of his Mission among the Delawares and Mollegan Indians, Phila. 1820. and his MS. communications to Doct. Miller, presented by him to the New-York Historical Society.

† River of fish: *namæsi*, a fish; *sipu*, a river.

tions) who had also emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. Their object was similar to that of the Delawares; they were proceeding eastward until they should find a country that pleased them. The territory east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These were the *Alligewi*, from whose name those of the Alleghany river* and mountains have been derived. This famous people are said to have been remarkably tall and stout; and there is one tradition that giants were among them, people of a much larger size than the tallest of the Lenape. They built regular fortifications and entrenchments, whence they would sally, but they were generally repulsed. Mr. Heckewelder has seen many of these fortifications, two of which are remarkable, viz. —one near the mouth of the Huron flowing into Lake St. Clair; the other on the Huron east of Sandusky, six or eight miles from Lake Erie.

The Lenape, on their arrival, requested permission to settle in their country. The *Alligewi* refused, but gave them leave to pass through and seek a settlement further eastward.— They had no sooner commenced crossing the *Namæsi Sipu*, than the *Alligewi* perceiving their vast numbers, furiously attacked them, and threatened them all with destruction if they dared to persist in coming over. Fired at this treachery, the Lenape now consulted about giving them a trial of their strength and courage. The *Mengwe*, who had remained spectators at a distance, now offered to join them, on condition that, after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them. Their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations to conquer or die. The Lenape and *Mengwe* now declared war against the *Alligewi*, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns and erect-

* Viz. the *Ohio*, as the Iroquois named it; or *La Belle Riviere*, (the Beautiful river,) by the French; a branch of it retains its ancient name.

ed fortifications, especially on large rivers and near lakes, where they were successively attacked, and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place, in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes or laid together in heaps and covered with earth. No quarter was given; so that the Alligewi, finding their destruction inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi, whence they never returned. The war had lasted many years and was very destructive. The conquerors now divided the country. The Mengwe made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes and on their tributary streams, and the Lenape took possession of the country south. For a long period of time, some say many hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very rapidly. Some of their most enterprising hunters and warriors crossed the mountains, and falling on streams running eastward, followed them down to the great Bay river (Susquehannah,) thence into the Bay itself (the Chesapeake); as they pursued their travels near the Salt-water lake (Atlantic,) they discovered the Great river (Delaware); thence exploring eastward, through the *Scheyichbi* country (New-Jersey,) they arrived at another great stream (the Hudson river.) Returning to their nation with flattering representations of the country, and assurances that no enemy was to be dreaded, they concluded this to be the country destined for them by the great Spirit. They accordingly began to emigrate thither at first in small bodies, and at last settled on the four great rivers, Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomac, making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of *Lenapewihittuck*,* the centre of their possessions. The whole of their nation did not reach this country. Some remained beyond the Mississippi, and others on this side. The largest body, supposed to have been one half of the whole,

* Viz. the river or stream of the Lenape. *Hittuck* meaning, in the Delaware language, a rapid stream; *sipo* or *sipu* is the proper name for a river.

settled on the Atlantic ; and the other half was subdivided into two parts as above, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and retreated into the interior of the country on learning the reception of those who crossed ; probably supposing them destroyed. The Delawares, on the Atlantic shores, divided themselves into three tribes, viz.—the *Turtle*, *Turkey*, and *Wolf*. The *Turtle* calling themselves *Unâmis*, and the *Turkey*, *Unalachtgo*, selected ground nearest the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, viz. the Hudson) beyond the Potomac. Many of their families, scattered throughout the country, erected towns and villages, having each a chief who looked up to the head chiefs, or great council of the nation. The *Wolf* tribe, called *Minsi*, (which has been corrupted into *Monseys*,) who lived in the rear of the two other tribes, were the most warlike of the Lenape, and found a bulwark for their protection, by watching the motions of the Mengwe. The *Minsi* reached from *Minisink*, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east, and on the west and south-west far beyond the *Susquehannah*. Their northern boundaries were supposed originally to have been the heads of the *Susquehannah* and *Delaware* ; their southern, the *Muskanecun* hills, so denominated, in *Jersey*, or those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. in *Pennsylvania*.

From these tribes, composing the body of the *Delawares*, emanated others, who adopted or received various names, taken from natural objects or local peculiarities, and who yet looked up to the parent tribe with affection, and of whom they were proud to be called the grand-children. This was the case with the *Mahicanni*, or *Mohicans*, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own. Choosing to live by themselves, they had crossed the *Hudson River*, naming it *Mahicannituck River*, after their assumed name, and spread themselves over all that country

which now composes the eastern states. New tribes again sprung from them, which assumed distinct names, still acknowledging the parent stock to be their grandfather. The Delawares at last thought proper to enlarge their council-house for their Mahicanni grand-children, that they might come to their fire, that is to say, be benefited by their advice, in order also to keep alive their family connexions, and maintain a league with each other. In a similar manner, a body of the Lenape, called *Nantieokes*, together with their offspring, proceeded south as far as Maryland and Virginia. The council-house was extended for their benefit to the Potomac.

Meanwhile the Mengwe, who had first settled on the great lakes, had always kept a number of canoes in readiness to save themselves, in case the Alligewi should return, and their number also increasing, they had in time proceeded further, and settled below the lakes along the River St. Lawrence, so that they became, on the north side, neighbours of the Lenape tribes.*

This contiguity, as might be expected, soon originated a mutual jealousy, which induced a train of events that ultimately ruined the Lenape, but paved the way for the victorious progress of the confederacy of the celebrated five nations. A sketch of those events will be given hereafter.

The Rev. Mr. Beatty, in his mission from New-York in 1766,† to the western Indians, received from a person whom he credited, the following tradition, which he had heard from some old men among the Delaware tribe. That of old time their people were divided by a river, and one part tarried behind; that they knew not for certainty how they came *first to this continent*, but gave this account, viz. that a king of their nation, when they formerly lived far to the west, left his kingdom to his two sons; that the one son making war upon the other,

* Heckewelder. Vol. I. Phila. Hist. & Lit. Tr. ch. I.

† See his Journal of two months tour with a view of promoting religion, &c. By Ch. Beatty, A. M. Lond. 1768.

the latter thereupon determined to depart, and seek some new habitation; that accordingly he set out, accompanied by a number of people, and after wandering to and fro for the space of forty years, they at length came to the Delaware River, where they settled three hundred and seventy years ago. The way they kept an account of this was by putting a black bead of wampum every year, since, on a belt which they used for that purpose. The king of the country whence they came, some years ago, when the French possessed Fort Duquesne, (Pittsburgh) sent out some of his people to discover, if possible, that part of their nation which departed to seek a new country, who, after seeking six years, came to the Pickt town on the Oubache river, met a Delaware Indian, whose language they understood, and by him were conducted to the Delaware towns, where they tarried one year and returned. Their country extended a great way towards the setting sun. Mr. Beatty's informant, who had, it seems, been years among the Indians, also said, that among the Delawares he observed their women to follow exactly the custom of the Jewish women, as prescribed in the Mosaic law; and that the Delawares observed the feast of first-fruits, or the green corn feast.

Mr. Williams,* commenting on the above tradition, asks, Does it not refer to the passage of the Israelites over Jordan into the land of Canaan, under the conduct of Joshua? The account of their wandering to and fro, may arise from a confused tradition of the travels of the Israelites in the wilderness. Or it may imply, he thinks, the unsettled state of North Wales; the departure of Madoc, and his travels before he finally settled. He adds, that these Jewish customs prevailed among the Carthaginians, Phœnicians, and Tartars. He thinks the Tartars are descendants of the ten tribes; that at remote periods some of them may have been driven on our northern coasts; that even while hunting on the ice, they might have been, in consequence of a sudden thaw, thus carried to the American coasts.†

* Inquiry into Madoc's expedition, pp. 45. 53.

† *Ib.* p. 53.

The Mengwe (or five nations) have a tradition that they came from the west, but from what part their progenitors emigrated they know not. The late Rev. Samuel Kirkland says (in the manuscript Journal of his missionary tour into this State in 1788) he found by inquiry that a tradition prevailed among the Indians in general, "that all Indians came from the west."

§ 6.

The old fortifications in our State were erected previous to European intercourse. The appearances of former cultivation, for instance, in Pompey: and the great number of burial places, evince a once skilful and numerous population. Similar appearances would probably remain for ages, if the present white population were entirely swept away. The Indians are ignorant by whom they were made. Respecting the fort in Oxford, they have a tradition that the family of the Antones, which is supposed to belong to the *Tuscarora* nation, are the seventh generation from the inhabitants of this fort; but of its origin they know nothing. In the Indian Reservation, near Buffalo, are extensive clearings, of which the Senecas can give no account. Whether the people whom the Iroquois assisted to extirpate when they migrated to their present country, or whether inhabitants anterior to them, or whether the Eries, whom they extirpated after the European settlement, or their predecessors, erected these works, are questions which are considered to be involved in impenetrable mystery.*

The party of gentlemen who discovered, in 1791, certain ancient remains before described,† made every inquiry concerning those singular constructions among the surrounding Onondagoes and other nations, but so far from receiving any

* Mr. Clinton's Memoir on Western Antiquities, &c.

† See p. 17.

information, traditionary or otherwise, they ascertained that the natives had never noticed the ruins.

The Reverend Mr. Kirkland, in reference to the two first remains of fortified towns, which he found on the Genessee Flatt, north of the magic spring and west of the deserted village,* observes (in his manuscript journal) that from the best information he could get from the Indian historians, these forts were made previous to the Senecas being admitted into the confederacy of the Mohawks, Onondagoes, Oneidas and Cayugas, and when the former were at war with the Mississaugas, and other Indians around the great lakes. This (he continues) must have taken place nearly three hundred years ago, if not more, according to many concurring accounts which he obtained from several Indians of different tribes. With regard to the double-fortified town, and the funeral pile, (where the slain were buried after a great battle) which he discovered on the open plain on arriving at the river Tanawànde,† he observes, that Indian tradition says these works were raised and this battle was fought betwixt the Senecas and western Indians in the pure Indian style, and with Indian weapons, long before their knowledge and use of fire-arms or their acquaintance with the Europeans. They used in fighting at that time bows and arrows, the spear or javelin pointed with bone, and the war club or *death-mall*. When the former were expended, they came into close engagement and used the latter. Their warrior's dress or coat of mail for this method of fighting, was a short jacket made of willow sticks or moose wood, laced tight round the body. The head was covered with a cap of the same kind, but commonly woven double, for the better security of that part against a stroke from the death-mall or war-club. In this great battle the Senecas affirm that their ancestors won the victory. Some say their ancestors had told them, there were eight hundred of their enemies slain;

* See p. 15.

† See p. 16.

others include the killed on both sides in that number.— Be this as it may, all their historians agree that the battle was fought where this heap of slain are buried, before the arrival of the Europeans, some say three, some four, others five lives or ages, reckoning a life or age one hundred winters, or colds.*

Compare this tradition with that heretofore related† of the first migration and successful victory of the ancestors of these people over the Alligewi, that extraordinary race who had fortified their towns in the vicinity of the lakes, who suffered the horrors of a sanguinary and protracted invasion, during which great battles were fought, their fortified places stormed, and hundreds fell in an engagement and were laid together in heaps: is it improbable that the Alligewi were the real constructors of these works; that the Senecas (a part of the Mengwe) in alliance with the Lenape, stormed this, as well as other fortified towns; won this, as well as other victories, and succeeded in driving from their country the remnant of the Alligewi, who fled down the Mississippi, whence they never returned?

The probability in favour of this, as a fair deduction from comparison, is somewhat strengthened by a tradition of the Seneca Indians, which has recently been published, and its authenticity sanctioned by Captain Jones, one of the public agents and interpreters for the Six Nations.‡ This tradition relates, that before and after that remote period, when the ancestors of the Senecas sprung into existence, the country, especially about the lakes, was thickly inhabited by a race of civil, enterprising, and industrious people, who were totally destroyed, and whose improvements were taken possession of by the Senecas.

* Rev. S. Kirkland's MS. Journal for 1788.

† See p. 33.

‡ See Appendix to a Narrative of the Life of a Female Captive, &c. By James E. Seaver. Printed at Canandaigua, by J. D. Bemis & Co. 1829. p. 159. 157.

As to their origin, and the mode in which their civilized predecessors were destroyed, the tradition will appear to vary from those above given, but to correspond with others formerly mentioned respecting their origin. They say their nation broke out of the earth from a large mountain (called Gerundewagh) at the head of Canandaigua lake. Thence they derive their name, "Ge-nun-de-wah," (sometimes pronounced Ge-nun-de-wah-gauh, or Great Hill;) and they are denominated "The Great Hill People," which is the true interpretation of the word Seneca. This mountain they still venerate as the place of their birth; it was for a long time a favourite spot, where they met in council to hold long talks; to offer up prayers to the Great Spirit, on account of its being their birth-place, where also by the providential destruction of a monstrous serpent, according to their tradition, their forefathers were delivered from threatened extermination. This serpent had totally destroyed the civilized race of people, of whose improvements the Senecas had taken possession. They also in turn provoked the serpent; and the monster, coiling around the great hill fort, so that his head and tail met at its gate, infected the atmosphere with his breath, and swallowed the inhabitants as they rushed out. A poisoned arrow at length proved fatal to him. He rolled down the hill, sweeping away all the timber in his descent, and amidst his contortions, disgorged the heads of those he had swallowed. These, rolling into the lake below, became in time reduced to a petrified state. Accordingly, stones in the shape of Indian heads are there to be seen at this day, in great numbers. The Senecas also ascribe to the unknown influence of this monster the prevalent confusion of their language, which in those early days was uniformly the same throughout the whole country.*

* See Appendix to Seaver's Narrative, &c. p. 52.

§ 7.

But their uncertainty as to the time when these fortifications were erected, as they pretend, by their ancestors, and the total absence of such a tradition among the other tribes on the continent, may well justify the suspicion which President Kirkland (18) has expressed, that this story originated in national vanity, for which he says the Senecas are pre-eminently distinguished. He seems to think they were erected by the ancestors of the improved nations of South America, in the progress of their migrations from the north and north-west. In his opinion he is by no means singular. Many support the opinion, that the western states of the Union were the original country of the Mexicans and Toltecas. From a comparison of the bodies and envelopes found in the Copperas cave in Tennessee,* and from other circumstances, the inference has been drawn that the western country was once their seat; that they were a copper-coloured people, who, it has been supposed, owed their knowledge and refinement to certain aboriginal whites.† Three South American nations ascribe their civilization and religion to *three white men*, who appeared among them.‡ Abbé Molina§ says, there is a tribe of Indians in Baroa, in Chili, whose complexions are a clear white and red. Baron Humboldt|| remarks, that in the forest of Guiana, especially near the sources of the river Oronoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion. An exterminating war appears to have taken place¶ between the barbarous natives, per-

* See Descrip. in vol. I. Archæ. Amer.

† Dr. M'Culloh's Researches, &c. 214, &c. Ch. Cullen, Esq. in his Transl. of Clavigero's Mexico. Med. Repos. vol III. Dr. Mease's Nature and Art, vol. XIV. p. 199. Atwater's Antiquities, in vol. I. Archæ. Amer. Clavigero's Hist. &c.

‡ M'Culloh's Researches on Amer. p. 212, 213.

§ Hist. Chili, vol. II. book 1. ch. 1.

|| Political Essays.

¶ M'Culloh, 216.

haps under some Attila or Genseric, and their more refined and civilized neighbours, ending in nearly the total destruction of the latter, the few survivors of whom fled to happier climes; and to these aboriginal whites perhaps the Mexicans, &c. were indebted for their knowledge and refinement.*

The traditions of other Indians ascribe the construction of these works to whites. Indians north-west of Ohio and others say, that they had understood from their old men, that it had been a tradition among their several nations, that the western country, and particularly Ohio and Kentucky, had once been inhabited by white people, but they were exterminated. The last battle was fought at the falls of Ohio. The Indians drove the aborigines into a small island, (Sandy Island,) below the rapids, where the whole were cut to pieces. *Kentuckee*, in Indian, signifies *river of blood*. Some of the remains of the ancient tribe of the Sacs expressed to a gentleman at St. Louis, their astonishment that any person should live in Kentucky. The country, they said, had been the scene of much blood, and was filled with the manes of the butchered inhabitants who were white people. (19)

Numerous traditions of nations *west of the Mississippi*, though varying as to the motive or uses that occasioned the construction of their tumuli and fortifications, concur in their great antiquity, and most of them in their having been the work of a people which had altogether ceased to exist, before those hunting grounds came into possession of the ancestors of the present occupants. (20)

But who were these whites? May it be presumed that the Alleghanians (Alligewi) and Mexicans were the same people by intermixture, and that the former erected these works before the Lenape and Iroquois came and destroyed them. (21) Many of the supposed fortifications were temples, particularly that of Circle-ville in Ohio, where human sacrifices were one of the rites, and where female victims, as in India,

* M'Culloh, 216.

were immolated with the males. Their similitude with those of Mexico, as described by Humboldt, has also been traced. (22) Bones of victims in heaps, shells used in sacred rites as in India, and idols of baked clay, consisting of three heads, similar to the triad of India, have also been found. (23)

But if the Alleghanians may be thus identified with the Mexicans, who were the whites that instructed the latter? Were the nations of our state descendants in reality of those victorious *Tartars*, (if they may be so denominated,) who formed their alliance on the banks of the Mississippi, waged the exterminating war against the Alligewi, and succeeded in expelling them, according to the tradition before recited? Were, then, those fugitives who escaped down the Mississippi, and never returned, the *white* instructors of the Mexicans? And if conjecture might be extended to the supposition that they were, still the inquiry arises, who were these whites, these Alligewi, these instructors of the Mexicans, these authors of our antiquities? Whence came they? Were they from Europe, or from Asia—were their conquerors from either of those continents? Were the former the first people who had emigrated, or had they succeeded others whom they in their turn had extirpated? The main question therefore recurs, by what means was America originally peopled?

§ 8.

We shall attempt little more than a classification of authors, and the peculiar theory which each has erected, following in order such as maintain a European ancestry; European or Asiatic; Asiatic only; ante or postdeluvian; African; ancient Atlantic; and lastly, such as believe that the aborigines are strictly such.

The remote voyages of the Scandinavians, which are alleged to have reached the coast of New-York, will be reserved until the examination of the third question. The antiquary of

America will probably find, says Dr. Mitchell,* that the Scandinavians emigrated about the tenth century of the Christian era, if not earlier. And they may be considered not merely as having discovered this continent, but to have explored its northern climes to a great extent, and to have peopled them three or four hundred years at least before Columbus was born.

In a topographical description of the western territory of North America,† including the account‡ of the discovery and settlement of Kentucky, published 1784, it is asserted that the ancient remains in Kentucky, (which seem to prove that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation further advanced in the arts of life than the Indians) are usually attributed to the *Welsh*, who are supposed to have formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri. This, says the author, is confirmed of late years by the western settlers having received frequent accounts of a nation inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies of the Christian worship; and at length this is universally believed among them to be a fact. Capt. Abm. Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whose veracity the author says may be entirely depended upon, assured him, that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskaskia, some Indians came there, and speaking in the Welsh dialect, were perfectly understood and conversed with by two Welshmen in his company, and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as above mentioned.§

* In Archæ. Amer.

† By George Imlay, London, printed 1793.

‡ By John Filson, p. 377-8.

§ Mr. Rankin, a clergyman of Kentucky, communicated to a gentleman in England, 1792, the assurance of the existence of such a tribe some hundreds of miles westward of Kentucky; that about 200 miles of the distance was a tract of waste hunting ground, through which it was dangerous to pass, in consequence of the depredations of the wild Indians. See Wilframs's Further Observations.

John Sevier, late governor of Tennessee,* says, that in 1782 he was on a campaign against the Cherokees. Observing on his route traces of very ancient fortifications, he afterwards took occasion, on the exchange of prisoners, to inquire into their origin, of Oconostoto, who for sixty years had been a ruling chief of the Cherokee nation ; and particularly as to the origin of the remarkable fortification on the bank of Highwassee river? The venerable chief replied, It was handed down by their forefathers, that these works were made by *white people*, who had formerly inhabited the country. When the Cherokees lived in the country now South Carolina, wars existed between them, and were only ended when the whites consented to abandon the country. Accordingly, they descended the Tennessee to the Ohio, then to the big river (Mississippi), then up the muddy river (Missouri), to a very great distance. They are now on some of its branches, but are no longer white people; they have become Indians, and look like the other red people of the country. "I then asked him," continues Governor Sevier, "if he had ever heard any of his ancestors say to what nation of people the whites belonged? He answered, 'I have heard my grandfather and other old people say, that they were a people called Welsh; that they had crossed the *great water*, and landed near the mouth of Alabama river, and were finally driven to the heads of its waters, and even to Highwassee river, by the Mexican Spaniards.' Oconostoto also observed, that an old woman in his nation had some part of an old book given her by an Indian living high up the Missouri. and thought he was one of the Welsh tribe. "Unfortunately," observes Governor S., "before I had an opportunity of seeing the book, her house and its contents were destroyed by fire. I have conversed with several persons who saw and examined it, but it was so worn and disfigured, that nothing intelligible remained." Many years ago, Governor

* In a letter, dated October 9, 1810, and published by Major Stoddard, in his *Sketches historical and descriptive of Louisiana*. Philadelphia, 1812. p. 483.

S. was informed by a Frenchman, a great explorer of the country west of the Mississippi, that he had been high up the Missouri, and traded several months with the Welsh tribes, who spoke much of the Welsh dialect; and although their customs were savage and wild, yet many of them, particularly the females, were fair and white. They often told him they had sprung from a white nation of people; that they had yet some small scraps of books remaining among them, but in such tattered and mutilated order, that they were unintelligible.* Captain Stewart gave an account of his capture by the Indians, about the year 1764;† of his redemption by a Spaniard from Mexico; of his expedition with him 700 miles up the Red river, where they came to a nation on the river Post, remarkably white, whose hair was of a reddish colour. (24) A Welshman in company, understanding their language, which differed very little from the Welsh, announced the next morning his determination to remain. Captain Stewart proceeded with him to the chief men of the town, who said their forefathers landed on the east side of the Mississippi, and on the Spaniards possessing Mexico, they fled to that part of the country. In corroboration, they produced rolls of parchment, carefully tied up in otter-skins, on which were large characters, written with blue ink, which to the Welshman, who was ignorant of letters, was unintelligible. They were a bold, hardy, intrepid, warlike people, and their women were beautiful, when compared with other Indians.

* A similar account was rendered in London, 1792, by two Cherokee chiefs, then there. One of them said the Welsh Indians were the *Padoucas*. Their books, religiously preserved in skins, were considered by them as mysteries, containing an account of whence they came. (See Williams's Further Observations.) Others who have been among the Welsh Indians, relate, that they say Wales was the place of their ancestry, but they knew not where Wales was. Visitors also have supposed that among their manuscripts or books, was a Welsh Bible, of great antiquity. (See the relations as published by Mr. Beatty, and Williams's Further Observations.)

† Beatty's Missionary Tour from New-York westward, 1766.

The earliest account which we have, appears to be that of the Rev. Morgan Jones, who, having as chaplain accompanied Major General Bennet on an expedition to Port Royal, South Carolina, in 1660, was afterwards taken prisoner with his companions, by the Tuscarora Indians; and being condemned to die, he made an exclamation upon his wretched fate in his native Welsh language. This was instantly understood by a sachem of the Doeg tribe, who interceded and saved them.* Mr. Jones proceeded to their town near Cape Atros, (Hatteras,) conversed familiarly, and preached for months in the same language. When his narrative, dated March 10, 1685-6, was transmitted through Dr Lloyd of Pennsylvania, to his friend in Great Britain for publication,† Mr. Jones was a resident of New-York.

To the account of Governor Sevier, Mr. Stoddard superadds two relations: one in confirmation of Griffith's statement of his discovery of the Welsh tribes;‡ and the other, that about a lake, near the head of the Missouri, was a nation not the least tawny, but rather of a yellowish complexion, who wore

* In 1675, the Doege were a small tribe, who lived on the Maryland side of the Potomac. (Vol. I. H. Williamson's *North Carolina*, p. 222.) Were they of the Tuscarora nation, who afterwards fled from Carolina and became incorporated as the sixth of our confederated Indian nations? See Stoddard, p. 432. Mr. Williams considers the Tuscaroras and the Delawares the same as the Doege. Query? (See Williams's *Inquiry and Further Observations*.) Are the Dog-rib Indians, recently described by Mr. Herriot (in *Travels*, Lond. 1807, p. 300) as possessing striking peculiarities, the original Doege?

† See Owen's *British Remains*. See *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. X. for 1740, cited by Williams.

‡ Griffith was a Welshman, taken prisoner by the Shawnees. He accompanied a party of them to the source of the Missouri, and among the Shining Mountains arrived at a village of white Indians, whose language was Welsh. His account was published originally by Judge Toulman (Henry Toulman, one of the Judges of the Mississippi) in 1804; re-published by Dr. Barton, (vol. I. of his *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, p. 79, 89. A. D. 1805,) who seems to admit grounds for believing the existence of the Welsh tribes, but doubts the legitimacy of the conclusion, that is, the authenticity of Madoc's voyage to this continent.

their beards, great numbers of whom had red hair. Vancouver found a people in the vicinity of the Columbia, whose language differed from that of their neighbours, and whose features resembled the northern Europeans. Lewis and Clark, though they pursued a different branch of the Missouri than the one which is supposed to lead to the Welsh Indians, discovered some straggling Indians near the mouth of the Columbia, similar to those mentioned by Vancouver. (25)

At what precise spot they are located, if indeed they have any tribal existence, as is doubted by some,* would be difficult to say, as the various accounts of their alleged existence appear somewhat irreconcilable. Writers have located them in different places, from the Red river to the shining mountains. Charlevoix, it is said, found a white people round a lake near the head waters of the Missouri. In the map attached to Du Pratz's Louisiana,† are placed the "*White Panis*," at the head of a branch of the Arkansas; "*Panis Mahas*, or *White Panis*," at the head of the south branch of the Missouri; and between those is marked the country of the Padoucas.‡

The Padoucas, the Panis, and the Cansez were formerly intermixed.§ Sir John Caldwell, one of the numerous persons who are said to have confirmed, from various sources, the existence of the Welsh Indians,§ says they are the Panis, or, as the English pronounce it, the Pawnees, (26) that their country lay about the head of the river Osages, the southern branch of the Mississippi, and extended far westward to a chain of mountains, from the top of one of which the Pacific

* See Brackenridge, in his Views of Louisiana, in chapter on antiquities.

† See also Cox's Description of Louisiana, vol. II. p. 252. Bossu's Account of Louisiana, vol. II. p. 182. Carver's Travels, p. 118, 119, 386. Hennepin says, in his Travels, he came to a tribe of *white* Indians. But he is not generally entitled to credit.

‡ So also see Charlevoix's Map in his New France.

§ See William's observations. Charlevoix Vol. 2.

|| William's further observations.

Ocean could plainly be seen. The Panis were whiter and more civilized than any other Indian tribes. We learn from the documents accompanying President Jefferson's message to Congress in 1806;* that the *Pania Pique* (in Arkansas) were formerly known by the name of the *White Panias*, and are of the same family with the *Panias of the River Platte*. According to that communication, the Padoucas, a once powerful nation, has apparently disappeared. Inquiry for them had proved of little avail. In 1724 they resided in villages at the head of the Kansas (or Cansez) River, and could at that time bring more than two thousand men into the field.† Oppressed by the Missourians, they removed to the upper part of River Platte, where they had but little intercourse with the whites. The northern branch of that river is still called the Paducas fort. It is conjectured that being still more oppressed, they divided into small wandering bands, which assumed the names of the sub-divisions of the Paducas nation; and are known to us at present under the appellation of Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavish, Katteka, Dotame, &c. who still inhabit the country to which the Padoucas are said to have removed.

This was the people whom one of the Cherokee Chiefs said, in London 1792, were Welsh. Are they the wretched remnant of Welsh, whom the venerable Oconostoto informed Governor Sevier were forced from the eastern to the western regions of the Mississippi; who were afterwards driven to the upper part of the River Platte, dispersed into separate tribes, and like the Jews, incorporated and yet distinct among others? Were some of those wanderers seen by Vancouver near the mouth of Columbia River, and afterwards by Lewis and Clarke?

Doctor Morse, in the report‡ of his tour among the western Indians, performed in behalf of the government in 1820, men-

* Communicating discoveries made by Lewis and Clark, Sibley and Dunbar. See Reports of the latter persons.

† See Du Pratz's *Louisiana* p. 74, and map.

‡ Printed New-Haven 1822. p. 145. 252.

tions, upon the information of Father Reichard of Detroit, a report that prevailed at Fort Chartres among the old people in 1781, that *Mandan* Indians had visited that post, and could converse intelligibly with some *Welsh* soldiers then in the British army. Dr. Morse suggests the information as a hint to any person who may have an opportunity of ascertaining whether there is any affinity between the Mandan and Welsh languages. The Mandans reside on the Missouri, a few miles east of Mandan Fort. Their population is stated to be 1250.*

We now superadd the following account which we received from General Morgan Lewis. His father, Francis Lewis, (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence) while on a military expedition, in the French war, was captured, and at Oswego assigned over with more than thirty others by Montcalm, the acting French Commander, to certain Indians, as their share of the prisoners. Among the Indians was a chief whose language resembled the Gaelic (a dialect of the Celtic, with which Mr. Lewis, who was a native of Wales, was thoroughly acquainted. On hearing him converse, Mr. Lewis understood him sufficiently to discover that his language was of that ancient dialect, although modified by usage and lapse of time. He then addressed the chief in Welsh, and was understood. The chief selected Mr. Lewis from the rest of the prisoners, accompanied and guarded him personally to Montreal, and insisted with the French Commander upon his liberation, on the ground that he was his captive, to be disposed of as he pleased. Mr. Lewis, however, was sent to England in a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; and after his return, frequently mentioned the cause of his escape from the fate of the other prisoners, (who were put to death) and during his life he often repeated the anecdote.

Thus for more than a century and a half the existence of Welsh tribes within the interior of our country (to the superior skill of whose ancestors, some have attributed the erec-

* Ib. see Lewis and Clark's visit to the Mandan villages. p. 26. *ante*.

tion of our ancient fortifications, temples, and works of art has been asserted by various persons at different times and places, under circumstances so seemingly precluding the idea of preconcert, interest, or prejudice, as to render the assertion that Indians have been discovered on this Continent, whose language was understood by Welshmen, better supported than are many historical facts to which the world has yielded implicit credence. Many of the sources of information, as given by writers upon this subject,* remain unnoticed.

Dr. Williams in his researches, concluded that the Delawares and Tuscaroras,† as well as certain tribes west of the Mississippi, were descendants of the Welsh. But the language and traditions of the former, so far as they are understood, prove that he was mistaken. If he had heard of the Alligewi, he might with some plausibility have conjectured that the Welsh were that extraordinary people, whom the ancestors of the Delawares and Iroquois expelled from the northern country, according to the tradition heretofore given.

The Padoucas and Panis, who were once numerous and formidable, were of whitish complexion ; but if their language was Welsh, the fact might probably have been placed beyond controversy many years ago.

In conclusion, is it improbable that soon after the Spanish discovery of South America, or in the early visits of the Europeans, (as early as the commencement of the sixteenth century into Florida) some straggling Welshmen might have visited Florida or Alabama, and (like many resident traders since) intermarried with the natives ? From a solitary instance, a numerous Welsh offspring would be reared in the succession of generations, during three hundred years. The Welshmen who accompanied Captain Stewart sixty years ago, chose to stay with

* See Inquiry into the truth of a tradition concerning the discovery of America, by Prince Madog. ab. owen Guynedd, about anno 1170. By John Williams, LL.D. Lond. 1791. Further observations, &c. by do. Lond. 1792. Beattley's Jour. Lond. 1768. Stoddard's Louisiana. London Gentlemen's Magazine for 1740, 1791.

† See note *ante*. p. 48.

the Indians. He may have contributed to preserve the language among them in modern purity, and thus rendered it intelligible to modern visitors. In some of their accounts, it is stated that the Welsh Indians knew their forefathers were Welsh. One statement relates that their ancestors were from Wales, but they did not know where Wales was. Suppose they were thus ignorant, even this circumstance might not be conclusive in favour of a very ancient settlement. It will be recollected that the Buccaneers of St. Domingo had in thirty years forgotten all traces of christianity. If, however, we are to sustain a more ancient derivation ; if, for instance, we would trace the ancestors of these Welsh Indians to the twelfth century ; we must presume that the Welsh language, as spoken within the last century, has remained much like that which was used in Wales five centuries before ; and that the difference between a savage and civilized condition, has not within that period contributed to render the dialect in its character and pronunciation so discordant, as to prevent its being mutually understood by modern Welsh and Welsh Indians. To sustain this presumption, we must further presume that the Welsh tongue has strangely escaped a mutability which has attended the English,* and every other living European language within a few hundred years.

§ 9

But from the assumed establishment of the fact of the existence of Welsh Indians, a strong *probability* has been deduced in favour of Madoc's voyage to this continent, and his colonial settlement in the twelfth century. Whether true or fictitious, Prince Madoc's adventures have been the theme of modern (27) as well as ancient song, and the historian, traveller, and antiquary, (28) as well as the bard, have concurred in supporting as authentic, what others (29) have consi-

* See Johnson's History of the English language. Also an English Almanac for the year 1386, in the New-York Historical Library.

dered a fable. We shall not enter into the controversy, but dismiss it with a few observations.

The basis of all the statements (30) which have appeared, seems to depend upon the authenticity of ancient records or collections made from time to time, and kept in the abbeys of Conway in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, and Strat Flur (or Strata Florida) South Wales. The best copy of these registers was taken, it has been said, by Gutton Owen, a bard in the reign of Edward IV. 1480, and is alluded to by other Welsh bards in their odes. They were the historians of their times. Their odes were written prior to any notion of a western world. Madoc's voyages were little known except by the native Welsh, who were ignorant whither he went. But their tradition having existed for ages before the reign of Elizabeth, could not have been a fiction invented to support the English against the Spanish claims of prior discovery. (31) It is asserted by respectable authority (32) that there are *authentic records* in the British tongue as to Madoc's expedition, wherever he did go, prior to the discovery of Columbus. Admitting that he left Wales, the supposition that he went to America is at best but posthumous and conjectural. (33) What part of America he came to, must also be purely matter of speculation. Accordingly, many analogies between Welsh and local languages, particularly in names, have been fancied. The address of Montezuma, the mighty emperor of Mexico, to his subjects, (1520) that "our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their king and captaine who brought them hither returned again to his naturall countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and govern us, if by chance he himself returned not," &c.; (34) the vestiges of Christianity; the honour paid to the cross in Acuzamil, according to Francis Lopez de Gomera; have all formed intended coincidences to a determinate conclusion in behalf of this adventurer. One writer (35) concludes that Madoc fell in with Virginia or New-England, and there settled. Another, that he landed near where Columbus discovered the country, or on some

part of Florida. (36) The Virginians and Guahutemallians,* from ancient times are said by a third, (37) to have worshipped one Madoc as a hero. The monuments in the country are said to prove that Madoc had been in those parts. Peter Martyr, who appears to have been in the Spanish Court when Columbus returned, is supposed to have afforded decisive evidence that when Columbus landed on the coast, some nations in America honoured the memory of one Madoc, under the names of Matec Zungam and Mat Jugam, that is, Madoc the Cambrian. (38) We have seen that Madoc's colony must have landed, according to the tradition of Oconostoto, at the mouth of the Alabama. Dr. Williams (39) had, previously to the account of that tradition, concluded, from a review of all the evidences before him and a comparison of circumstances, that Madoc landed on some part of New-England or Virginia, and in process of time his colony extended itself southward to Mexico, and their descendants spread over a great part of America; that those foreign ancestors of the Mexican chiefs, of whom the Spanish writers often speak in their accounts of Cortez's adventures, were ancient Britons. (40)

Those signs of freemasonry which modern travellers have found, are also thought to be of Welsh origin. Travelers describe† certain private societies among the Indians, which apparently resemble our lodges of freemasons. Their rules of government and admission of members are said to be nearly the same. No one can be received as a member of the fraternity except by ballot, and a concurrence of the whole is necessary to a choice. They have different degrees in the order. The ceremonies of initiation, and the mode of passing from one degree to another, would create astonishment in the mind of an enlightened spectator. Is not this practice of European origin? In the early periods of English his-

* Or Guatemalians.—See Dr. Cabrera's hypothesis hereafter. According to him, Votan was the first populator in Mexico, and the object of an idolatrous veneration.

† Says Major Stoddard in Hist. Sketch of Louisiana.

tory the knowledge of freemasonry was mostly confined to the Druids; and Wales was more fruitful of this description of men than any other part of Europe. They were almost the only men of learning in those days: they executed the functions of priests, historians, and legislators. Those in Wales, in particular, animated their countrymen to a noble defence of their liberties, and afforded so much trouble to the First Edward, that he ordered them to be barbarously massacred. This ferocious tyranny was carried into effect about the year 1282. Few only of the bards survived to weep over the miseries of their country.

But a similar institution, it is said, prevails among our Iroquois Indians. These have never been suspected to be of Welsh extraction. Still they may have derived the signs from those who were. We receive the information from Governor Clinton, to whom it was communicated by a respectable Indian preacher, who received the signs of the mystery from a Menonie chief. The institution, therefore, must be prevalent among the Menoninies as well as other Indians. In this secret institution among the Indians, the members are very select. Among the Iroquois, the society consists of five Oneidas, two Cayugas, two St. Regis, six Senecas. They are said to have secret signs, and pretend that the institution has existed from eternity. The period of their meetings is unknown; but they assemble once in three years, as deputies under pretence of other business.

If the Welsh Indians could be identified as descendants of Madoc's colony, or if the Alligewi could be ascertained to have been Welsh, the discovered traces of civilization, Christianity, and the arts, might partly be referred to their instrumentality. But the pre-existence of inhabitants when Madoc is supposed to have arrived, the crowded population (for instance in Ohio 700,000, as Mr. Atwater has conjectured,*) which formerly swarmed over this continent, preclude the

* Vol. I. Archæ. Amer.

presumption that Madoc's colony (322 years only before Columbus) were the first settlers, or that they and their descendants were the sole constructors of all the mounds, temples, and fortifications that appear to have been erected. They may have contributed to swell the tide of population from the north of Europe: this is the opinion of De Laet, Hornius, and Mitchill, and may have aided in constructing the fortifications and works which bear so strong a resemblance to those of their own country. But limited must be the views that would circumscribe the origin of myriads who have swarmed over this continent, to the narrow confines of Wales.

§ 10.

It is certain that our ancient forts in New-York resemble the old British and Danish.* Pennant, in his *Tour through Wales*, describes a strong British post on the summit of a hill in Wales, of a circular form, with a great foss and dike, and a small artificial mound within the precinct. A similar entrenchment he describes in his *Tour in Scotland*.* Beyond our State, particularly in Ohio, places of former worship, burial, and defence, have also, by comparison with the descriptions and drawings in Pennant's *Tour*, been assimilated to those of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.† The Danes descended from the Scythians, and made settlements and conquests on the British isles even since the days of Julius Cæsar.

According to Pliny, the name of Scythian was common to all nations living in the north of Asia and Europe. (41) The Scythians, therefore, from whom the Tartars were descended, in all probability first peopled the British isles. The fact that our works are in all respects like those of Britain, and that similar works may be found all the way from this part of

* Gov. Clinton, in *Memoirs on West. Antiq. of N. Y.* See Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, in Pinkerton's Collections.

† See Atwater, Vol. I. *Archæ. Amer.*

America to Tartary, furnishes some proof that the Tartars were the authors of ours also. (42)

Edward Brerewood (43) claims the Tartars as the only parent people of the aborigines. John De Laet (44) a Flemish writer, Gregorio Garcia, (45) a Dominican, and father Joseph De Acosta, (46) a Spanish Jesuit, concur in ascribing the American aboriginal population to the north of Asia and of Europe. The first makes the Scythians, Tartars, and Samoiedes, the principal hive ; but traces portions of the American family from the northwest of Europe, the islands near the western coasts of Africa, particularly the Canaries, and partly from Wales, under Prince Madoc. The two other authors suppose that these emigrants may have also come from those regions lying south of the straits of Magellan. Grotius (47) and Hornius (48) trace them from Norway, by way of Greenland ; but the latter refers also to the Swedes, the Welsh, and others.

Dr. Mitchill* says, that the suggestion of Mr. Clinton, of the Danish origin of some of the old forts in Onondaga and adjacent, was to him a new window of light. It led him to follow, with the reverend pastor Van Troil, the European emigrants, during the horrible commotions of the ninth and tenth centuries, to Iceland ; trace them, with the reverend Mr. Crantz, to Greenland ; and at last find the Scandinavians on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Madoc, Prince of Wales, and his Cambrian followers, appeared among these bands of adventurers. And thus the north-eastern lands of North America were visited by the hyperborean tribes from the north-westernmost climates of Europe ; and the north-western climes of North America had received inhabitants of the same race from the north-eastern regions of Asia.

The hypothesis of this learned philosopher is, that America, as well as Asia, had its Tartars in the north and its Malays in the south. He aims to prove, from a comparison of the features, manners, and dress, distinguishable in the North Ameri-

* Vol. I. *Archæ. Amer.* p. 341.

can nations of the higher latitudes, with those of the Samoiedes and Tartars of Asia, that they are of the same race; and, from the physiognomy, manufactures, and customs of the North American tribes of the middle and lower latitudes, and of the South Americans, that they are nearly akin to the Malay* race of Austral Asia and Polynesia; and that the north-western climes of Europe contributed, as the north-eastern regions of Asia had, to the original population of this continent.

This derivation of the Northern Americans from Asiatic and Norwegian ancestry, and the Southern from that of Southern Asia, is also ably maintained by Doctor Williamson;† and the theory has attracted the concurrence of some modern philosophers in Europe.‡

In conformity to this interesting hypothesis, the antiquary is instructed to trace the swarms from the great hive of nations existing to the eastward and westward of the Caspian Sea, in a manner very different from that which some writers of Europe have pursued, as the barbarians descended upon the more warm and productive countries of the south. "He will follow the hordes journeying by land eastward, and he will trace the fearless boatman venturing over sea westward, until the Tartar and the Samoied meet each other at the antipodes. He will find this antipodal region to lie south of lakes Ontario and Erie; and thereon pursue the vestiges of their combats, their conflicts, and their untold story, to Onondaga,

* See Blumenbach's *Division of the Human Species*, Malays, &c. in Vol. X. (new ser.) *N. Am. Rev.* p. 405, 7. See Dr. Mitchell's *Private Museum*.

† *Observations on the Climate and Aborigines of America, on Complexion, &c.* by Hugh Williamson, LL.D. N. Y. 1811. p. 102, &c. 128, &c. See also his *Hist. of North Caro.* Vol. I, p. 6, 7, 8, 213, 216. See Abbé Molina, *Hist. Chili*, Vol. II. B. 1. Ch. 1. See Atwater, in Vol. I. *Archæ. Amer.* See also Humboldt, who supports the southern similarity with Malory. Humboldt is said to have written in German, an essay on the origin of the native tribes of America.

‡ *Compte De L'Académie*, President of the Academy of Arts at Paris. "*Histoire naturelle de l'Homme*," &c. See Dr. Mitchell's *Dissertation*, translated at Geneve, and appended by a learned commentary, 1817, *Bibliothèque Universelle*.

the great head-quarters of the victorious Iroquois. The Danes, or Finns, and Welshmen, performing their migrations gradually to the southwest, will appear to have penetrated to the country situate south of lake Ontario, and to have fortified themselves there. The Tartars or Samoieds, travelling, by degrees, from Alaska to the southeast, probably found them there. In their course, these Asian colonists probably exterminated the Malays (49) who had penetrated along the Ohio and its streams, or drove them to the caverns abounding in saltpetre and copperas in Kentucky and Tennessee, where their bodies,* accompanied with the clothes and ornaments of their peculiar manufacture, have been repeatedly disinterred and examined. Having achieved this conquest, the Tartars and their descendants had probably a much more difficult task to perform : this was, to subdue the more ferocious and warlike European colonists, who had already been intrenched and fortified in the country before them. There is evidence enough, that long and bloody wars were waged among the tribes.† In these, the Scandinavians and Esquimaux seem to have been overpowered in New-York. The survivors of the defeat and ruin retreated to Labrador, where they have continued secure and protected by barrenness and cold. How memorable a spot has been Onondaga !—where men of the Malay race from the southwest, and of the Tartar blood from the northwest, and of the Gothic stock from the northeast, have successively contended for supremacy and rule, and which may be considered as having been possessed by each before the French, Dutch, or English, had ever visited or known the country !” (50)

Father Charlevoix (51) allows that America might have received its first inhabitants from Tartary and Hyrcania ; and that more than one nation had a Scythian or Tartarian origin. After enumerating a great number of writers, (52) and ex-

* See account of Indian Mummies, found in the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. and specimens of their peculiar manufacture, &c. in Dr. Mitchill's Collection.

† See Mr. Clinton's Memoir, Mr. Atwater's Antiquities, and others before cited.

amining particularly Acosta, L'Escarbet, Brerewood, and Grocius, he concludes in his opinion, that the ancient Celtæ and Gauls, who sent colonies to the uttermost bounds of Asia and Europe, and whose origin may be undeniably carried back to the sons of Japhet, made their way into America by the Azores; and in reply to the objection, if raised, that the Azores were not inhabited in the fifteenth century, he replies, that the first discoverers of those islands abandoned them to make settlements in others of greater extent and fertility, and on an immense continent, whence they are not far distant. The Esquimaux, and other nations of North America, resemble so much those of the north of Asia and Europe, and so little the other natives of the new world, that it may be presumed they descended from the former.

That there are genuine descendants from the ancient Scythians, or from their offspring the Tartars, of the north of Asia or Europe, might be placed beyond any reasonable doubt, if similitude in feature, manners, and customs, were to decide the question. One western nation in particular, among whom has been discovered a language of signs supposed to savour of Asiatic origin,* possess all the migratory habits and customs of the roving Tartars. These are the Hietans or Comanches.† Having no fixed residence, they alternately occupy the immense space of country from the Trinity and Braces, crossing the Red river to the heads of Arkansas and Missouri to river Grand; beyond it about Santa Fé, and over the dividing ridge on the waters of the Western Ocean. They have a native language by speech, which no others can understand; but they have a language by signs that all Indians understand. These roving Tartars occasionally display a rapidity

* Jenk's Antiquarian Address, p. 24. Wm. Dunbar's communication in pt. 1. vol. VI. Transac. of Amer. Philo. Soc. Philadelphia. See Long's Expedition up the Missouri, for particulars of their language of signs.

† See Reports accompanying the President's Message to Congress, 1806. Communicating the Discoveries of Lewis and Clark, Sibley and Dunbar. This account is in John Sibley's communication to Gen. Dearborn, then Secretary of War.

in hostile incursions and retreat, and a romance in achievement, which would do credit to the barbarous gallantry of their Asiatic brethren. (53)

§ 11.

The question recurs, were the five nations and Delawares, (the native Indians of this state, who, according to their tradition, migrated from the west,) of a Tartar stock, and were the Alligewi, whom they expelled, the north-western Europeans, who had preceded them in their migration to this state? Pennant, (in his *Arctic Zoology*,) says, that the five nations and others in the interior of America, who are tall of body, robust in make, and of oblong faces, are derived from a variety among the Tartars, viz. from the fine stock of *Tschutski*, and these again from that fine race of Tartars, the *Kabardenski*, or inhabitants of Kabarda. Mr. Du Ponceau observes,* that it has been ascertained, that one nation at least, on the eastern continent of Asia, the *Sedentary Tschutski*, speak an American language, a dialect of that (viz. the Karalit) which begins in Greenland, crosses the American continent, (on both coasts of which it is found among the people called Esquimaux,) is spoken at Norton Sound, and the mouth of the Anadir, and thence northward along the coast, to the peninsula called Tschutschkoi Noss, or the promontory of the Tschutski. The inquiry may be more satisfactorily elucidated, when, (in our history of these Indians,) we shall contrast some of their prominent manners and customs with those of their supposed parent stock. From what has been said, there is strong ground for conjecturing, that their ancestors were Tartars originally, from the north of Asia, who by intermitted stages, were for years emigrating to the northern lakes and banks of the Mississippi; and after a long and destructive conflict, succeeded in conquering those

* See Notes on Eliot's Indian Grammar, vol. IX. Mass. Hist. Coll. 2d Series, p. 233n. 312—IV.

European emigrants, who had fortified themselves throughout the country, from the Mississippi into New-York. But whether the ancestors of these victors or vanquished were the first people of America, or what country was the original cradle of the American family, are problems of much more difficult solution, than the Asiatic and European identity of these races of aborigines.

In addition to authors named, who support a European or Asiatic origin, or one from both regions, we might add to the list of those who think that the north-eastern Asia might have been the route of the *first* people, the names of Robertson, Pennant, Barton, and others.*

The vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America, says Dr. Robertson, renders it highly probable that the human race first passed that way from Asia. In latitude 66° north, the two coasts are thirteen leagues only asunder; about midway between which are two islands, less than twenty miles distant from either shore. Here the Asiatics could find no difficulty in passing to the opposite coast, which was in sight of their own. They might have crossed on sledges, or on foot in the winter, when the strait is entirely frozen over, according to the accounts of Captain Cook and several of his inferior officers. It is remarkable that in every peculiarity in person and disposition which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe.

Mr. Pennant observes that the inhabitants of the New World do not consist of the offspring of a single nation: different people at several different periods arrived there, and it is impossible to say that any one is now to be found on the spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive the bulk of its inhabitants from any other

* Robertson's Hist. Amer. Pennant's Arc. Zool. Barton's New Views. See Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews.

place than Eastern Asia. Mr. Pennant describes striking similarities between the ancient Scythians, or Tartars of Asia, and the American tribes. These and other peculiarities will be noticed in our account of the Iroquois and Delawares, the ancient proprietors of the territory of New-York. Mr. Pennant mentions, for instances, the practice of scalping among the Scythians; their lingering ferocity towards their captives; the Tartarian mode of burial; the practice of pricking their faces and marking the punctures with charcoal, as observed by the Tungusi, the most numerous nation in Siberia; the Asiatic canoes and paddles; and the features and bodily form of the Tartar nations, as striking similitudes to those of the American nations.*

In the reserved dispositions, as well as persons and colour of the North American Indians, a strong resemblance has been observed to those of the Malays of the Oriental Archipelago, that is, the Tartar tribes of Upper Asia; like these they also shave their head, leaving only a lock of hair. The practice of those refined Tartars, the Chinese, of binding the feet in infancy, also prevails among the Indians, but for the purpose only, as is said, of turning the toes inward. "We might adduce," says the Quarterly Review,† "the picture language of the Mexicans, as corresponding with the ancient picture-language of China, and the *Quipos* of Peru with the knotted and partly coloured cords, which the Chinese history informs us were in use in the early period of the empire; we might compare the high cheek bones, and the elongated eye of the two people, and produce other resemblances as so many corroborating proofs of a common origin."

In fact, it has been supposed that M. de Humboldt‡ has demonstrated the identities of the Mexicans and Tartarian na-

* Pennant's *Arc. Zool.*

† No. LVII. p. 13. See specimens of this picture language in Dr. Mitchill's private museum.

‡ Whose essay, in German, on the origin of the native tribes of America, is hardly yet known here.

tions, by a comparison of the zodiac of those people respectively. "The very learned and sagacious comparison," says Professor Vater,* "which he has made between the *divisions of time* of the Mexicans, and the tribes of eastern Asia respectively, shows a visible analogy throughout their modes of computing time, which can by no means be ascribed to coincidence, especially where so many other circumstances lead us to assume a connexion between the nations. The Mexicans, Japanese, Thebetians, and various other nations of inner Asia, have undeniably the same system in the division of their great cycle, and in the names which they give to the years of which it is composed. This argument is also confirmed by the still farther discovery, that a great number of the names whereby the Mexicans designate the twenty days of their month, are precisely the signs of the zodiac, as it has been received from time immemorial by the tribes of eastern Asia."†

Doctor Barton, and other respectable writers who have examined the subject, arrange themselves on the same side of the question. After a brief description of several North American and Asiatic tribes, Dr. Barton subjoins comparative vocabularies of their languages, and from the similarity between some of them; the superior population of the more western regions of North America, which abound with a greater number of mounds, &c. than the eastern parts; and from the general tradition of the aborigines, he concludes that the march of population was originally from Asia to America.

Accordingly, the first inhabitants passed from Asia across the islands that lie between the extremities of Asia and America, but at different times and from various parts: Tartary, China, Japan, or Kamschatka: the inhabitants of these countries resembling each other in colour, feature, shape,‡ and in many other particulars.

* In vol. IV. Mithridates, cited vol. VII. N. Am. Rev. (new series.) p. 15.

† See *ibid.*

‡ New Travels among the Indians, by William Fisher, Esq. Philadelphia 1812.

§ 12.

In what manner the populators of this continent might have passed from Asia, or from Europe, may be conceived as easily as the transit of people after the deluge, to the extremities of those continents, and to that of Africa.*

Asia and America are supposed to have been united at the north,† and afterwards separated by one of those catastrophes which at times convulse the surface of the globe. Charlevoix thought the two continents still united far to the north. But they are separated, as we formerly observed, by islands at so short a distance,‡ that the strait when not frozen over, may be passed by canoes with far less hazard than the fearless Esquimaux sometimes dares in venturing upon the mountain wave.§

So between the north-east of America, and north-west of Europe, the difficulties, though greater than those above-mentioned, were by no means appalling to northern navigators. They must have been far less so anciently than in modern days, if we credit, with Hakluyt and others,|| the former existence of an island (larger than Ireland, but now sunk,) situated between Greenland and Iceland, in the days of Zeno. Even from the British Isles, or Coast of France to

* As to the migration of the human race after the deluge, see preface to D'Anville's ancient geography.

† And according to Acosta and Feijoo, as cited by Clavigero, the first emigrants came across at that point. Buffon also thought the two continents united by oriental Tartary.

‡ See account of Kamschatka, published by order of the Empress of Russia, Robertson's *Amer. Life of Catherine, Empress of Russia*.

§ See the modern northern voyages. Indians not only of the north, but of the South Sea Islands, and West-Indies are daring navigators. They seem to pursue their course from one place to another, with nearly the same unerring precision, which marks their straight forward way through a vast wilderness, wherein civilized people would become bewildered and lost.

|| See H's Collections. Forster's *Northern Voyages*.

Newfoundland, the passage is not very long or difficult. A passage may with ease be effected from the coast of Africa to Brazil—Canaries to the Western Islands—thence to the Antilles. Neither is it very long or difficult from China to Japan—Japan or the Philippines to the Mariannes—thence to Mexico.

America has been peopled as the other parts of the world have been: independently of pre-design—unforeseen accident, tempests, and shipwreck have certainly contributed to people every habitable part of the world.*

§ 13.

This is also the opinion of Governor Clinton. “The probability† is, that America was peopled from various quarters of the old world, and that its predominant race is the Scythian or Tartarian. Malté Brun, the great French geographer, in his *Précis de la Géographie Universelle*, &c., speaks of the vast colonial system of the Carthaginians; of Phœnician navigation, of that of the Arabians and the Malays, to the Moluccas and to America; and it is almost certain, that the squadrons of the Japanese and the Malays traversed the great Southern Ocean, now filled with their colonies. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Phœnicians sailed far into the Atlantic Ocean. Herodotus states, that Africa was circumnavigated by vessels despatched by Necho, king of Egypt, under the conduct of Phœnicians. Hanno, according to Pliny, during the most flourishing times of Carthage, sailed round from Gades to the utmost extent of Arabia, and wrote an account of this voyage, called the *Periplus*. That vessels from the old world, have been driven by tempests on the coast of America, is certain, and that they have gone there at early periods for various purposes, is highly probable. A communication can be had between America and the old world, without any considerable navigation. They are in

* Gov. C. in MS. view of this question, with which he has favoured us.

one place divided by a strait, and where the distance enlarges, access can be easily had by intervening islands. Grotius says, that the Peruvians were a Chinese colony, that the Spaniards found at the entry of the Pacific Ocean, after coming through the straits of Magellan, the wrecks of Chinese vessels. Captain Shaler, our intelligent consul-general at Algiers, is well assured that a Chinese junk was wrecked on the north-west coast of America; some of the money of that country was found on board. Forster supposes that the fair South Sea race came from the Malays, and the blacks from the Moluccas.

It is mentioned in the General History of the Canaries, that in 1770, a small vessel laden with corn, and bound from Lancerotte to Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, was driven to sea while none of the crew were on board. The motion of the waters from east to west, carried it to America, where it went on shore at La Guaira, near Caraccas.

In 1682 and 1684, American savages, of the race of the Esquimaux, were driven out to sea in their leather canoes during a storm, and, left to the guidance of the currents, reached the Orcades. Pliny says, that certain Indians were driven by tempests on the coast of Germany, and presented to Quintus Metellus, by the King of the Suevi. Thirty persons, (according to *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses ecrites des Missions etrangeres*, tom. 15.) of both sexes in two canoes, arrived in the isle of Samal, one of the Philippines who had been driven by storms from an island three hundred leagues distant, and had been at sea seventy days. Captain Cook in his last voyage, found in the island of Walevo, two hundred leagues distant from the Society Islands, some of the natives who had been driven thither by a storm, in a canoe. Tupaya, an Otaheitan, had, according to Captain Cook, sailed four hundred leagues from home, or about twenty degrees of longitude. Captain Porter states, that the Marquesas frequently sail out in their boats on a venture, without knowing the destination.

When a mutiny took place on board of the ship *Bounty*,

Lieut. Bligh commander, he and eighteen men were put into an open boat on the 28th of April, 1788, and on the 29th of May, arrived at New-Holland, distant nearly four thousand miles. But the Quarterly Review (No. 52,) mentions an occurrence still more extraordinary. "A native of Ulea, one of the numerous islets forming the great group of the Carolinas, was, with three companions, driven by a violent storm out of their course, and drifted about in the open sea eight months. Being expert fishermen, they lived on the produce of the sea, and when the rain fell, laid in fresh water. One of them being an expert diver, got water in a cocoa-nut shell from the bottom of the sea where it is not salt."

These facts show how the different races of men may have been spread over the globe, and indicate that America has derived its population from different sources in different ways, and at different times; by long voyages, and by short excursions, by tempests, by voyages of commerce and discovery, and by the other various causes which govern the conduct, and affect the destiny of man."

In further coincidence with this opinion of a Scythian or Tartarian origin, and that the several quarters of the globe have contributed to people this continent in various ways, and at different times; we might superadd other writers, distinguished for their learning and research. America, according to one of them,* was inhabited before the deluge.† After this event, men and animals penetrated into the country by sea and land, through accident and design. The Scythians from the north were the first founders; the Phœnicians and Carthaginians followed next across the Atlantic; and the Chinese, the Pacific; people of other nations succeeded, or were driven hither by tempest. Some Jews and Christians by like means, might have been brought hither. Another migration of the Phœnicians is supposed by this writer to have taken

* Georgi Horni de Originibus Americanis, 1652. (Printed at Hague.)

† The tradition of the deluge is prevalent among some of the Indian nations; remarkably so among the Caddos. See note. §

place during the three years' voyage, made by the Tyrian fleet, in the service of king Solomon, and on the authority of Josephus; he says that the port of its embarkation lay in the Mediterranean. The fleet, he continues, went in quest of elephants' teeth, &c. to the western coast of Africa, that is Tarshish; then to Ophir* for gold, which is Haïti, or the Island of Hispaniola. He superadds migrations since the Christian era.

Caleb Atwater, Esq. whose contributions of facts to the collections of the American Antiquarian Society have been curious and valuable, supposes that the first settlers sprang from one common origin, as early as the days of Abraham and Lot; that their improvements were originally rude, such as were common to those early ages; their progress in arts slow, but apparently improving as they advanced from the north to the south.† The works described in those collections are offered as evidence of a race widely different from any now known.‡

The hypothesis of an Israelitish origin, or that the American Indians are descendants of the long-lost tribes of Israel, has been ably assumed by Adair,§ supported by Boudinot,||

* Dr. Robertson (*Hist. Am. B. I.* p. 3. 12mo.) thinks that Tarshish and Ophir were ports in India or Africa.

† In *Archæol. Amer.* Vol. I. See p. 223, as to the progress in arts, in workmanship of gold, silver, copper, bricks, iron, pottersware.

‡ See Review in Vol. III. (new series) *North American Review.* p. 225.

§ *History of American Indians.* Lond. 1775.

|| *Star in the West*, or an attempt to discover the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. Trenton N. J. 1816. This is an improvement upon Adair, as Mr. Boudinot acknowledges. p. 211. See Rob. Ingram's accounts of ten tribes being in America originally, published by R. Manassah Ben Israel. Printed Colchester, Eng. 1792. A reverend writer in Vermont has also published a work on this hypothesis, and is said to be engaged in preparing another edition. See also Campbell on Western Antiquities. Port Folio, June 1816. See the custom (given in Lewis and Clark's Travels, Vol. I. p. 366, 382.) of the Shoshonees uncovering their feet, likened to the Mosaic. Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 76, as to *Jews* discovered in China, called *Afghans*. See Jenk's Antiquarian Address.

and denied by Jarvis,* on the assumption that there is no affinity between the Indian and Hebrew tongues.

One writer has gone so far as to trace the primogenitors of the American Indians to the descendants of the murderer Cain. His essay is ingenious, and contains a full quotation and explanation of scripture references. He insists, however, upon the former union of the Asiatic and American continents.†

It has been further urged that the progressive movements of the human family were uniformly eastward and northward from the Euphrates. The inhabitants of Asia being the descendants of Shem, did not move to the westward in any numbers. The aborigines, therefore, belonged to a stock of those who moved eastward from the Euphrates, and crossing at Behring Straits, came to our western country from the *north-west*. Some of the Mexicans declare that their ancestors came from the north-west.

At the deluge, arts had arrived to great improvement and refinement. A respectable portion of this knowledge was preserved from the wreck, and communicated by the sons of Noah. From the descendants of Shem, the first settlers of Asia, that is, the Israelites, (or what is synonymous, the ten tribes) we derive the commencement of all that knowledge, which served to keep the vast continent of Asia from total barbarism. The Israelites carried captive by Salmaneser, in the time of Hoshea, became, in a great measure, incorporated with the neighbouring nations; and from this source, or in this channel, we deduce many of the customs which prevailed, and continue to prevail in Asia, and which have been frequently recognised among the *Tartars*, the aborigines of the western country, and the present race of Indians.‡

* Discourse in No. 3. N. Y. Hist. Collec. and reviewed in Vol. XI. N. Am. Rev. p. 103.

† In Vol. I. (old) Am. Mag. p. 196. 246, &c.

‡ See Campbell on the Antiquities of the western part of our country. See Port Folio, June 1816. As to the migration of the human race after the deluge, see the translator's preface to D'Anville's Ancient Geography.

§ 14.

Mr. Jefferson was of opinion that emigrants might have easily passed from the north-east of Asia, or north-west of Europe into America ; but he considered the red Americans more ancient than those of Asia, upon the assumption that radical changes of language among the former have taken place in greater numbers, than they have among the latter.*

Some philosophers, considering this continent coexistent with that of Asia, are not more willing to yield to the latter any claim to remote antiquity over the former, than they are to Europe a pretension to physical superiority, so arrogantly maintained by De Pauw and Buffon, but so ably refuted by Mr. Jefferson and the Abbé Clavigero.

We heretofore observed that Baron Humboldt (54) was astonished to find in the *New World*, so called, institutions, religious ideas, and edifices, flourishing in the fifteenth century, which in Asia indicated the dawn of civilization. Abbé Clavigero (55) thought the first American people descended from different families after the confusion of tongues, and that the language and customs of the Asiatics will in vain be examined for the origin of the people of the New World. It is his belief that there has been an equinoctial union of America and Africa, as well as a former connexion at the north with Asia and Europe.

§ 15

Siguenza (whose opinion was adopted by Bishop Huet) supposed that the Mexicans belonged to the posterity of Naphtuhim, and that their ancestors left *Egypt* not long after the confusion of tongues, and travelled towards America. This is a conjecture which Abbé Clavigero considers well supported, but not sufficiently sustained to be pronounced a truth.

* Notes on Virginia. See Dr. Jarvis's Discourse, note C. in Vol. III. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 227—228.

The ruins of an ancient city near Palenque, in the province of Chiapa, and kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America, are described as exhibiting the remains of magnificent edifices, temples, towers, aqueducts, statues, hieroglyphics, and unknown characters. This city (since called the Palencian city) was first discovered by Captain Antonio Del Rio, in 1787. He says in his report,* that the town appears to have been seven or eight leagues in length, and at least half a league in breadth; that from a Romish similarity in location, in that of a subterranean stone aqueduct, and from certain figures in Stucco, he thought that an intercourse once existed between the original natives and Romans. The Palencian edifices are of very remote antiquity, having been buried for many ages in the impenetrable thickets covering the mountains, and unknown to the historians of the new world.

Among the few historical American works that escaped the flames of the Spanish conquerors, (who destroyed most of the memorials of the natives) was an ancient narrative, which is said to have fallen into the hands of the bishop of Chiapa, who refers to it in his *Diocesan Constitution*, printed at Rome 1702. This was the narrative of Votan, which, it is conjectured by Doct. Cabrera, of New Guatemala,† may still be extant. A copy (as Doct. C. believes) of the original, in hieroglyphics, (taken soon after the conquest) was communicated to him in a memoir from a learned friend.

From an interpretation of this copy of the hieroglyphic narrative of Votan, he is made to say, that he conducted seven families from Valum Votan to this continent, and assigned lands to them; that he is the third of the Votans; that having determined to travel till he arrived at the root of heaven, in

* See Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City, &c. from the MS. of Don Antonio del Rio, and Teatro Crítico Americano, or Critical Investigation, &c. into the history of the Americans, by Doct. Paul Felix Cabrera. Lond. 1822.

† Ib. Descrip. of Ruins, &c.

order to discover his relations, the Culebreas,* and make himself known to them, he made four voyages to Chivim; that he arrived in Spain, and went to Rome; that he saw the great house of God building, &c.

According to Doctor Cabrera's hypothesis, the figures and deities of the Palencian city, and particularly the hieroglyphics, are Egyptian. A maritime communication existed between the American and African continents, in the very remotest ages of antiquity. The grandfather of Votan was a Hivite, originally of Tripoli, in Syria, (of a nation famous for having produced Cadmus) and was the first populator of the New World. That Votan, his grandson, made four voyages to the old continent, and landed at Tripoli. The earliest inhabitants consequently came from the east to America, proceeded from its eastern part to the northward, and again descended. At any rate, this, according to Dr. Cabrera, is the solution of the grand historical problem, so far as it regards the first peopling of the countries bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and islands adjacent. He admits, that from various accidents since the introduction of the art of navigation, it is probable that many other families, besides those conducted hither by Votan, may have been conveyed to different parts of America and formed settlements.

Among the ruins of the Palencian city, were found several figures and idols. Agreeably to the Doctor's interpretation of these figures, Votan is represented thereon as on both continents, with an historical event, the memory of which he was desirous of transmitting to future ages. His voyages to, and return from, the old continent, are also depicted. One of the idols, bearing a mitre or cap, with bulls' horns, and found in the temple of the city, is the Osiris, and another, the Isis of the Egyptians. These transmarine deities were known also to the Greeks, Romans, and Phœnicians.

* How striking are these incidents, compared with those related of Madoc! See p. 54, and note 33. Are the words Valum Votan, Culcbras, Chivim, &c. of Welsh etymology?

In order to sustain his conclusion, the Doctor is forced to enter upon a train of bold conjecture. The speeches of Montezuma, (who has already been claimed as the descendant of Madoc by his advocates) to Cortes, on his submission to the dominion of Charles V. and his address to his chiefs and caciques, are supposed to refer to the arrival and departure of Votan.

In the range of his conjectures, while attempting to trace the affinity of Votan's grandfather with the ancient Hivites, their migration to Egypt, and the antiquity of Votan's voyage, and those of his grandson, the Doctor enters learnedly into ancient mythology, and lays much stress upon the opinion of the benedictine Calmet, in his commentary on the Old Testament, and upon Hornius, as cited by Calmet.

Accordingly, on the ingress of the Hebrews into Palestine, and in consequence of the Hebrew wars, the Canaanites, who were expelled by Joshua and the judges, fled into Egypt, pursued their course to the remotest regions of Africa, having occupied its coasts gradually, as they were oppressed by the Hebrew wars, (though many of the Hivites abandoned their dwellings before Joshua entered Palestine ;) that these colonies existed prior to the Trojan war, (the era of which is 240 years after the death of Joshua) because Greeks returning thence, found that every part of the coast of Africa where they landed, had been already peopled by the Phœnicians ; that on this point, Greek and Latin writers agree, according to the testimony of Bochart, in his work entitled *Canaan*, and of Hornius, on the origin of the people of America, lib. 2, cap. 3, 4, quoted by Calmet. Hence the foundation of the first colony in America, by the grandfather of Votan. Hornius, supported by the authority of Strabo, affirms, as certain, that voyages from Africa and Spain into the Atlantic Ocean, were both frequent and celebrated, adding, from Strabo, that Eudoxius, sailing from the Arabian gulf to Ethiopia and India, found the prow of a ship that had been wrecked, which, from having the head of a horse carved on it, he knew belonged to a Phœnician bark, and some Gaditani merchants declared it

to have been a fishing vessel. Laertius relates nearly the same circumstance. Hornius says, that in very remote ages, three voyages were made to America, the first by the Atlantes, or descendants of Atlas, who gave his name to the ocean, and the islands, Atlantides : this name Plato appears to have learned from the Egyptian priests, the general custodes of antiquity. The second voyage, mentioned by Hornius, is given on the authority of Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5, cap. 19, where he says, the Phœnicians, having passed the columns of Hercules, and impelled by the violence of the winds, abandoned themselves to its fury ; and after experiencing many tempests, were driven upon an island in the Atlantic Ocean, distant many days sail to the westward of the coast of Lybia. This island, upon which were large buildings, had a fertile soil, and navigable rivers. The report of this discovery soon spread among the Carthaginians and Romans, the former being harassed by the wars of the latter, and the people of Mauritania, sent a colony to that island with great secrecy, that, in the event of being overcome by their enemies, they might possess a place of retreat.

But according to Doct. Cabrera, Votan's ancestors must have emigrated prior to this second voyage of the Phœnicians, for the latter found houses, &c. and anterior to the Punic wars.

The other voyage in the Atlantic, spoken of by Calmet, was anterior to the preceding, and is that attributed to Hercules, who is the supposed author of the Gaditanian columns, and whom Galleo ranks as contemporary with Moses, and chief of the Canaanites, who left Palestine on the invasion of Joshua. The Hivites founded the kingdom of Tyre. Sallust affirms, that the soldiers of Hercules Tyrius, and their wives, spoke the African language. Diodorus asserts, that one Hercules navigated the whole circuit of the earth, and built the city of Alecta in Septimania. From what Doct. Cabrera considers an irrefragable body of evidence, founded upon the coincidence of the memorials of writers of the old continent,

with the tradition, as introduced in Montezuma's two discourses, that the Mexicans came originally from the east ; the narrative of Votan ; the incidents commemorated by a discovered medal ; the report of Captain Del Rio, and the figures of the ultramarine deities, sketched by him in the temple of the Palencian city, the Doctor concludes, that Hercules Tyrius was the progenitor of Votan, Septimania, beyond a doubt, the island Atlantis, or Hispaniola ; the city of Alecta was Valum Votan, the capital of that island whence Votan embarked his first colony to people the continent of America, and whence he departed for the countries on the old hemisphere.

Votan, the grandson of Hercules, and author of the narrative, was the third of his race, and flourished between three and four hundred years before the Christian era. The Romans and Carthaginians derived their first knowledge of America from Votan himself, on his return to the old continent, and his visit to Rome ; and the first Carthaginian colony was sent previous to the first Punic war, and after the information thus communicated.

This hypothesis is not, it seems, founded upon that of an ancient union of the two continents.

§ 16.

So formidable, however, have been the interposing difficulties, as viewed by the learned, in arriving at any certainty when and whence came the *first* people of America, and how and when animals first appeared there,* that many suppose, (for instance, Acosta, Grotius, Buffon, and Abbé Clavigero,) that this continent was once connected with the old continents, and by some great convulsion, the communications have been destroyed. There cannot be any doubt that our planet has

* See Barton's Views. Rees's New Cyclop.

been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge. Lands over which ships once sailed, are now the seats of cultivation; lands which were formerly cultivated, are now covered by water. Earthquakes have swallowed some lands, subterraneous fires have thrown up others. Rivers have formed new soil with their mud; the sea has retreated from shores and lengthened the land; or advancing, diminished it, or separated territories which were united, and formed new straits and gulfs. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report a great many instances of such vicissitudes. According to them, Spain and Africa were united, and by a violent irruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean sea formed. Sicily had been united to the continent with Naples, and Eubea, (the Black sea,) to Bœotia. The people of Ceylon have a tradition that an irruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India; so those of Malabar, with respect to the isles of Malvidia; and by the Malaysans with respect to Sumatra. (56) It is certain, says the Count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has lost by the sea thirty or forty leagues, while Tongres, a place of the low countries, has gained thirty leagues of land from the sea. The northern part of Egypt owes its existence to the inundation of the Nile. The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and deposited in its inundations, has formed a soil of more than twenty-five cubits of depth.* In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow river in China, and that of Louisiana, have been formed from the mud of rivers. The peninsula of Yucatan, in America, no doubt was once the bed of the sea. In the channel of the Bahama, indications appear of a former existing union of Cuba with Florida. In the strait which separates America from Asia, are many islands, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land, which we suppose to have been swallowed by earthquakes, a probability

* Ali Bey maintains (in his travels) that the great African desert was once an ocean.

strengthened by the knowledge we have of the multitude of volcanos in the peninsula of Kamschatka. The sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, however, is imagined to have been occasioned by those great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the history of the Americans, which formed an era almost as memorable as that of the deluge. (57) Abbé Clavigero is persuaded that there was an ancient union between the equinoctial countries of America and those of Africa, and a united continuation of the northern countries of America with those of Europe or Asia; the latter affording a passage for beasts of cold climes, the former for quadrupeds and reptiles peculiar to hot climes. He also believes that there was formerly a great tract of land, which united the now most eastern part of Brazil to the most western part of Africa, and that all that space of land may have been sunk by some violent earthquakes, leaving only some traces of it in the isles of Cape de Verd, Fernando de Noroña, Ascension, St. Matthew, and others, and the many sand-banks discovered by different navigators, and particularly by De Bauche, who sounded that sea with particular care and exactness. Those islands and sand-banks may probably have been the highest parts of that sunken continent. It is also the belief of Abbé Clavigero, that the most westerly part of America was formerly united by means of a smaller continent to the most easterly part of Tartary, and perhaps America was united also by Greenland with the northern countries of Europe. Dr. Foster entertained an opinion, which however he afterwards questioned, that Friesland, (larger according to Hakkuet than Ireland) to which the Venetian Zenos in the beginning of the fourteenth century proceeded, and thence adventured at sea for years in the service of Sichmi, the enterprising chief of the island, was situated between Iceland and Greenland, and has since been swallowed by the sea in a great earthquake. Dr. Belknap* coincided in this opinion, and thought the sunken

* American Biog. V. I. p. 74.

land of Buss, was a part of the ancient Friesland, or some island in its neighbourhood. The opinion of Foster was founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic origin, as it is evident,* with respect to Iceland and the Faro islands in the north sea: the Azores, Teneriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verds, St. Helena, and Ascension, in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otaheite, Easter, the Marquesas, and other islands in the Pacific.

Abbé Molina* observes that the Chilians say their ancestors came from the north or the west. That they came from the west he thinks is not so extravagant an opinion as at first view might appear.

The discoveries of the English navigators in the South sea, have established, that between America and the southern point of Asia, there is a chain of innumerable islands, the probable remains of some vast tract of land, which in that quarter, once united the two continents, and rendered the communication between Asia and the opposite shore of America easy. Whence it is very possible, as Abbé Molina concludes, that while North America has been peopled from the north-west, the south has received its inhabitants from the southern parts of Asia; the natives of this part of the new world being of a mild character, much resembling that of the southern Asiatics, and little tinged with the ferocity of the Tartars: like the language of the Oriental Indians, theirs is also harmonious, and abounds in vowels.*

Mr. Hayden† in his Geological Essays, supposes that strong evidence exists, that a general current prevailed over the whole of this (American) continent, flowing from the north-east to the south-west.

According to the geology of a distinguished professor in natural philosophy in this State,‡ the basins of lakes Erie,

* History Chili, Vol. II. B. I. ch. 1,

† H. H. Hayden, Esq. Geolog. Essays, reviewed in vol. 3. new series, N. Am. Rev. p. 150.

‡ Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Geolog. Observ. p. 326, published with Cuvier's Theory of the Earth. See also Professor Eaton's late Geological

Ontario, and other reservoirs of the great inland seas, were once filled with salt water. The numerous remains of marine animals adjacent to the lakes, the lithophytous and testaceous relics abounding in the western and northern counties of this state, are adduced as proofs of the recession of the ancient oceanic waters of the primitive globe, that once rolled over this region. The first and principal of those ancient barriers or dams, which appeared, according to this theory, on the subsidence of the ocean, was that which has been traced from Upper Canada into New-York, to the head waters of the Hudson, to the north end of lake George, to the little falls on the Mohawk, to the eastern sources of the Susquehanna, through New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, until it becomes confounded with the Alleghany ridge; thence we pursue the barrier or mound, until the Cumberland mountain divides the Tennessee river from the Cumberland river, and shows its abrupt termination at the Ohio, between the spaces where those two rivers unite with the Ohio. From this point a vast gap, or prairie, extends towards the hills that skirt the Illinois river and mountains west of Cape Girardeau in Missouri, beyond the Mississippi, furnishing the only remaining vestiges of the ancient barrier.*

This grand rampart, in the course of ages, was broken at various places: a breach was formed, for instance. at the north eastern extremity of lake Ontario, where the thousand islands and neighbouring scenery bear evidence of the mighty rush of the waters, as they prostrated (by the probable agency of an earthquake) the opposing mound, and lowered Ontario one hundred and sixty feet, to the level of its outlet. The country was left bare from the heights of the ridge road, which runs from Queenston and Lewiston heights, to the Genessee river: the

Surveys. Mr. Clinton's Introductory Discourse before the New-York Literary and Philosophical Society, and note G. Also his address to the Historical Society.

* Even the summit of Michillimackinac contains the shells of bivalve molluscas, and must consequently have been covered with water.

intermediate country exhibited to view all the organic remains which had been formed in the bottom of that sea. Another breach was made in the succession of ages at the northern extremity of lake George, in consequence of which, the barrier near its outlet was demolished, and the lake diminished to its present size. Another was near the cataracts of Hudson river, called Glen's and Hadley's falls. Another at the upper falls of the Mohawk, where the rocks formed at some remote period, a mound, which opposed the progress of the water eastward, and where the upper country wears the face of a drained tract, and the lower, the traces of rounded primitive rocks, interspersed with alluvial deposite. Other breaches are supposed to have been made by the Delaware through the mountain above Easton; by the Lehigh through the Blue Mountain; by the waters of the river Schuylkill; by the Susquehanna; by the Potomac through the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain, so called; by James river: and the widest breach of all was between the Cumberland mountain and the Missouri hills, at or near Cape Girardeau. Over this wide tract, the barrier was either high enough to enclose the waters, or it has yielded to their impulse over a broader space than in any other. By the flood which effected the demolition of this dam, the vast tract behind it was drained: lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan were formed, and dry land appeared around, while the ruins of sand and soil were carried down the valley of the Mississippi and deposited on the alluvion bottom there.

Since the removal of the briny waters through so many passages, the streams fed by the rains and springs retiring to their channels, wrought other alterations. Travelling down the inclined plain from their several sources to the new level of the lakes, they gave a configuration of a more modern date to the regions through which they pass. Among these are the falls and rapids in Black and Onondaga rivers; the fall in Salmon river; the rapids in Seneca; the cataract in Genesee; and the grand cataract of Niagara.

The great chasm formed by the last, discloses much of the

mineralogy of the region which assists us in forming correct opinions concerning the geology of this section of the globe.*

Accordingly from the fragile nature of the strata† that support the mighty and immeasurable torrent, and from its volume and attrition for ages, its position is supposed to have receded seven miles from that which it once occupied between Lewiston and Queenston's heights, to its present scite.‡

From the foregoing limited view of the wonderful geognostic changes which, in the slow revolution of ages, have taken place upon the surface of the globe, and even within the limits of our own State, the traces of which, to the eye of an observer, become every where apparent and numerous, we may conclude that the hypothesis of a former union of this continent with the old continents, is by no means improbable.

§ 17.

The presumption of such a union forms also the basis of an elaborate inquiry by Dr. McCulloh.§ He supports the probability of the ancient existence of the Atlantis of Plato, and the identity of the Antilles and Hesperides of the Spanish author Oviedo. In maintainance of his theory of the lost Atlantis, he refers to authors,|| by whose views or details it is supported, and to traditions and geological observations tending to show

* See Dr. Mitchill's Geology, Eaton's Geological and Canal Surveys and Descriptions of Niagara falls by Volney, Weld, McKennen, and Mitchill. North Am. Rev. Vol. VI. new series, p. 227-28-30-33, Vol. XV. p. 225, 227.

† The upper of which is limestone rocks, disposed *horizontally*, or (as Dr. Mitchill says, since his recent western tour, the present year, 1824) with a slight inclination or dip towards the westward, so as to incline the waters to run on the west.

‡ But see Vol. VI. North American Review, new series, p. 231.

§ Researches on America, Balt. 1817. See Vol. IX. (new series.) Mass. Histor. Coll. Mr. Duponceau's notes, &c. p. 5.

|| For instance, Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 300, Vol. VIII. p. 375. Whitehurst's Works, General Vallencey referred to in notes to Southey's Madoc, Vol. I. p. 237-8. Pennant in Introduction to Arctic Zoology.

that the intermediate islands between this and other continents are the shattered remains of those which once existed, and that a continent stood where the Pacific now rolls its ten thousand miles waste of waters.

The curious characters inscribed on the rock lying opposite to Dighton, (near Taunton in Massachusetts,) have been the subject of much learned speculation. Mr. Mathieu, of France, thinks them hieroglyphics, and ascribes them to the inhabitants of the Atlantic island of Plato. He not only pretends to give the sense of the inscription, but also to prove that the tongues spoken by the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other occidental people, as well as the Greek itself, with all its dialects and ramifications, were but derivatives from the language of the primitive Atlantes.*

He says the Chinese system of numeration, and the signs employed in it, are the same as those found upon this rock, which appear to have been written anno mundi 1902. The numeration system of the Romans was similar, and they derived it from the Pelasgi, who were originally from Atlantis. The same system was communicated to the Chinese by that very *In*, son of Indios, King of Atlantis, who is named in the inscription of Dighton, as chief of the expedition which had arrived there for the purpose of concluding a treaty of commerce and amity with the Americans. *In* became the founder of a distinguished family in China, and was living in the time of Yao, in the year 2296, being 48 years after the utter submersion of the island of Atlantis in the *ogygian* deluge; that

* Dr. Mitchill in Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. p. 349. See Mr. Mathieu's Speculation at large on this inscription in Vol. I. Amer. Month. Mag. p. 260, published by Bigelow & Holley. See Mr. Kendall in travels in the U. S. Vol. II. chap. 53, and also his philosophical account of the rock in Vol. III. part 1. Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. of arts and science, Cambridge, 1809, p. 165. See Judge Winthrop's description of this inscription in Vol. I. of do. Judge Davis's explanation of the same in Vol. II. p. 197 ib. Cotton Mather's view of same in Transactions of the Royal Society in London. And see North Amer. Review, Vol. I. (new series) p. 227, and also Col. Duane's speculations on this subject.

is to say, about 1800 years before the christian era. This island in its day was what Great Britain is in ours. The Atlantides, according to this their modern historiographer traded with the four quarters of the globe, and established factories and colonies.*

From a personal examination of this rock during the present year,† and a comparison of the characters of the inscription, so far as they were visible, with those delineated on a copy taken and reduced by pentagraph to one-sixth part, by judge Winthrop, and another of a similar size by Dr. Baylies, (a resident in the vicinity) and from the positive resemblance of some of these characters to those described by Dr. Clark in his travels, as having been found in Cyprus, we are inclined to believe that the Dighton inscription is of Phœnician origin. It is a connected chain of hieroglyphics and rude letters of the ancient alphabet. It is probable that all the figures given by Clark‡ might be traced on this rock, either in a separate or combined state. The following however are quite apparent, viz: those which Dr. Clark describes, which resemble very much the letters and figures P. W. X. 7. 9. and those of the triangle and trident. The trident (the synonymy of Neptune, until the improved designation placed a human head before it) was plainly visible. On the rock are also the rude delineation of letters like A. M. O. and several figured images. The bird, the ancient symbol of navigation, has been found at the base of the inscription. Its head is directed upwards, and a circle (the emblem of eternity) or it may indicate here the full period of a voyage, is placed near it, and the whole may possibly have been designed as the account of a voyage performed in some remote age. The slime and mud covering this part of the inscription, prevented us from observing the bird and circle. But the gentleman§ who accompanied us to the rock,

* Mr. Mathieu. See Bigelow and Holley's American Monthly Magazine, Vol. I. p. 261-2.

† In October 1824.

‡ See Travels, &c. Vol. II. p. 130-1.

§ Hon. Francis Baylies.

said he had formerly discovered them: they had also been seen by Dr. Baylies, and delineated by him on his map of the inscription. The copy taken by Mr. Kendall* seems to have been imperfect; and the opinion which some visitors have expressed, that the inscription was the work of the native indians, if at least of any known race, seems to be very questionable. If it had been so, is it not probable that similar inscriptions would have been found throughout the country? The present one stands alone. The natives could not render any account of its origin, when the Europeans discovered the country. It is probably the most remarkable relick of antiquity in North America, and it ought to be secured, so that it may be perpetuated. It seems to indicate a single visit to these shores, like that mentioned by Hornius, on the authority of Diodorus,† when the Phœnicians, driven by a tempest, came to an island, distant many days' sail westward, and found navigable rivers, a fertile soil, and many houses. If a thorough comparison could be instituted between this writing-rock, as it has been denominated, and those Phœnician inscriptions which Dr. Bellermand‡ says have been found in Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Gaulos, Sicily, Athens, Palmyra, and Africa, then a more satisfactory, and perhaps a certain result, would be obtained. At present, it stands like other vestiges of a remote people, covered with mystery and hieroglyphics.

§ 18.

One class of writers maintain, that the Americans are strictly the aborigines of the soil, not emigrants from other parts of the world. (58) They are few in number, and were limited in their views on this subject, according to the opinion of Dr. Barton,§ who says they have indeed examined it in a very superficial manner.||

* In his Travels, &c. and in Vol. III. Mem. of Amer. Academy of Arts, &c.

† See *ante*, p. 76

‡ See North American Review, Vol. I. (new series) p. 227 and p. 6.

§ In his New Views, p. vi.

¶ See further on this historical problem: "Essai sur cette question quand

From this brief and imperfect review of an historical problem, which occupies volumes, it might be imagined that any attempt to settle definitively the parentage of the *first* emigrants, would be futile and preposterous. Still the herculean labour is not relinquished. It is thought that the secret is to be brought to light, not merely from a comparison between oriental and occidental manners, customs, and personal identity, but from languages. The former have been already sufficiently contrasted by writers, to evince the fraternity at least between some tribes and nations of western Indians and the Asiatics. Language however is the alchymy which is to transfuse all former dross speculation into pure and positive certainty.

M. Julius Von Klaproth, it is said, (59) found a chain of nations and idioms from the north-west coast of America, along Canada, the United States, Louisiana, Floridas, great and little Antilles, the Caribee Islands, and Guiana, as far as the Amazons, where the languages are derived from an original language, having great affinity with that of the Samoiedes and Kamptchadales. The people along this tract, in figure and mode of life, have a striking similarity to the free nations in northern Asia. Dr. Barton,* Messrs. Heckewelder, and Duponceau,† (and others who will be enumerated, when we speak of the language of our native Indians) have investigated the

et comment L'Amerique a-t-elle été peuplée D'Hommes et D'Animaux? à Paris, 1765, 5 tom. par E. B. d'E. (d'Engil.) Professor Vater's Inquiry on the origin of the American population. Abbé H. Gregorie's Enquiry concerning negroes, &c. translated by D. B. Warden. Abbé G. on the origin of the human species in different parts of the world. Professor Smith (of Princeton,) on the complexion of the human species, &c. Dr. H. Williamson's observations on climate, complexion, aborigines, &c. On the origin and variety of the human species, colour, &c. See also Vol. VIII. North American Review, (new series) p. 29-30, Vol. X. ib. p. 404-9, wherein the theories of Blumenbach, Smith, Laurence, and Dr. Prichard, on the physical history of man, are referred to.

* New Views.

† In Vol. I. Literary and Historical Transactions of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society. Heckewelder and Duponceau, (reviewed vol. IX. North American Review, p. 179, see 155.) According to them. there are in

structure of the Lenni Lenape and Iroquois languages. But their exertions, particularly those of the latter gentlemen, have probed the idioms of other Indian languages, with the aim to discover a radical similitude between them and foreign idioms. Mr. Duponceau finds that the American languages in general, are rich in words and grammatical forms; and in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail. The forms, which he calls *polysynthetic*, appear in all those languages, from Greenland to Cape Horn, and these forms, he thinks, (though his learned inquiries had not been terminated) differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

The Adelungs and Vater, distinguished German philologists, have embraced in their profound inquiry into the structure of language, a more correct and condensed body of information concerning the original tongues of the two Americas, than was ever compiled and arranged before.

Professor Vater commenced the masterly task of exhibiting an original and radical language, prevailing the whole nations from Chili to the remotest distance of North America, displaying a unity, an object over which are diffused an abundance of forms, but through the whole preserves its peculiar character, and must have originated in a remote period, when an original people existed, whose ingenuity and judgment enabled them to strike out such intricate formations of language as could not be effaced by thousands of years, nor by the influence of zones and climates.

The Mithridates, (60) the productions of the Adelungs and Vater, is pronounced the most astonishing philological collection that the world has ever seen. It contains an epitome of all the existing knowledge of the ancient and modern languages of

North America, four radical Indian languages only, viz : Karalit or Esquimaux, the Iroquois, the Lenape, and the Floridian. See John Pickering, Esq. on the Massachusetts' language, Vol IX. (2d series) Massachusetts' History, collec. p. 223, &c. His Essay on the uniform orthography of the Indian languages of North America.

the whole earth. This work gives an extensive comparison of all the Asiatic, African, and American languages. Its authors present it to the world as the commencement of a structure, which out of the ruins of dilacerated human tribes, seeks materials for a union of the whole human race.*

§ 19.

Thus, we have attempted to classify the writers upon this interesting question, connected with our State antiquities and aborigines. We have followed them alternately to Europe, to Europe and Asia, to Asia alone, to Africa, to the Atlantic of Plato. We have found, that while some were satisfied with peopling America from one country, others have thought it derived its aboriginal inhabitants from the various quarters of the globe. A third class could not be reconciled until they brought forth Atalanta from her long slumber under the waves of the ocean, and constituted her, if not the ancestor, at least the antediluvian contemporary with Asia. In the opinion of some, America has been peopled within a few centuries before Columbus; of others, before the deluge; and of others, immediately on the dispersion of mankind after that event.

What more could be said? The whole ground is pre-occupied. A new hypothesis essentially varying from all the preceding, would be as great a wonder, as that which has been the mysterious subject of inquiry. That America had received emigrants from other parts of the globe before Columbus, we

* Dr. Mitchill, in Vol. I. *Archæ. Amer.* Peter S. Duponceau, Esq. Vol. I. *Hist. and Lit. Trans. &c. Phila.* d.19. Rev. Mr. Schaeffer. See Dr. Murray's learned and scarce work on the etymology and affinity of languages, tracing strong resemblance between all languages. See Adelung's *Surveys of the known languages and their dialects*, reviewed in Vol. V. (new series) *North American Review* p. 123. See *Vocabulary and grammar of the Inca Tongue*, by Father Diego Gonzalez. 1607. (A rare book, recently received by Dr. Mitchill.)

have no doubt: and were we disposed to theorize, without possessing that indubitable evidence from authentic history, observation, and analysis, which would be necessary in order to sustain a bold hypothesis, we should say, that in the remotest ages of the world, this continent was connected with the old continents by others which have sunk. Between the north-west of this, and the north-east of Asia, the mountainous remains of this union, are the islands that are discoverable in the strait which now divides them. Between the north-east of this, and the north-west of Europe, Greenland, the submerged island of Friesland and Iceland, were parts of the connexion with the European continent. Between the eastern part of Brazil, and the western part of Africa, and between the most western part of America, and the most eastern part of Tartary, (or southern Asia in the range of those numberless islands that seem to have been the highlands of a connecting continent,) territorial unions existed between this continent and those of Africa and Asia. In obedience to the will of the Creator, the earth was filled with living creatures, and in the progress of multiplication and dispersion anterior to the deluge, no reason can be assigned, why this vast continent should have been exempted from the operation of this general law. The deluge (which is traditionary on this continent) impaired, but did not destroy all these connexions. The earth was again replenished, and this continent remained sufficiently connected to receive once more the vivifying influence of this second birth of men and animals. In the slow round of age after age, the chemical combination and effects of the elements, the constant agitation and conflict of the fluids and solids, the tremendous agency of volcanoes and earthquakes, have combined to complete the destruction of those connexions which the deluge had impaired. In the meantime, however, men and animals had spread over the surface of this continent, and they gradually became naturalized in habit, to the varieties and changes of its climate, and to the resources which were found to sustain life. Accessions to this original population, were made in the succession of ages since

the separation, by the various means which we may imagine have contributed to display animal life in every habitable part of the world. Navigation, in some ages, has been in a higher stage of improvement than in others. The commercial enterprise of some nations far transcended that of others. An ancient knowledge of the magnet may have occasioned its adaptation to maritime purposes, in those remote ages of the world, of the events of which we have neither profane nor sacred record. But independently of this conjectural assistance, the spirit of bold and fearless adventure may have occasionally impelled men to trust themselves from land, or men less fearless, may have been driven to sea by storms, and in either case, they may have accidentally arrived on this continent. In this manner, individuals from different parts of the world, and even from the middle latitudes of the old continents, may have been conveyed to this, and, consequently, have introduced the peculiar traits of their respective national characteristics. Nevertheless, since the separation, the facilities of intercourse in modern ages, having remained at the north from Asia, far superior to those elsewhere, the predominant race of the aborigines has consequently been Asiatic, of the Tartar and Malay stocks. These may have, in a great measure, supplanted those races that had preceded them previously to the destruction of the former connexions of this continent with the others, and whose monuments of art and civilization are to be traced in our most ancient ruins. But the minor classes of population, having proceeded in modern ages from various other countries, and particularly from the north of Europe, (where the facilities of communication remained next in excellence to those from Asia,) heterogeneous races have met and commingled, fought and incorporated, confounding their individual nationalities, and thereby introducing the confusion which still prevails among the native tribes, in colour, shape, language, manners, customs, traditions, religious ideas, knowledge, and manual skill. General deductions from individual indications have been made, and hence has arisen the various and

contradictory hypotheses upon the peopling of America. Although the probability is, that the Asiatic stock preponderates, yet formidable migrations have no doubt, in different ages, been made from the north of Europe. It will appear under the third division of the present part, that the Scandinavians probably visited the north-eastern coasts of this continent, and for a long time contended for supremacy with the natives, whom by way of contempt they denominated, *Skrælings*. What extent of dominion they acquired, how long they remained, or what portion of their countrymen intermixed with the natives, and continued among them after the northern voyagers had ceased to visit the country, are altogether uncertain. It may be, that their superior warlike skill had enabled them to achieve an easy conquest, and to sustain their ascendancy until the Asian population overwhelmed them. To them, and others, perhaps, from the more central borders of Europe, may be ascribed the erection of those works that bear the impress of European skill and civilization. Among these, may have been the whites, whom Indian tradition describes as having occupied the states north-east of the Ohio.

But whether the northern *Alligewi*, that extraordinary people, whom the Asian Tartars (the ancestors of the natives of this State) met and vanquished, were of the Scandinavian origin—Danish, Swedish or Norwegian, or of any other European descent, is a question which it is impossible to determine. It is not improbable that they erected many of the fortifications in the vicinity of our lakes, as well as those east of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and that many of these works may be referred to the period of the tenth or eleventh century. They may have been European Tartars from the Scandinavian or Norman stock, and advanced in the arts, as far as the authors of similar works in England, Scotland, and Wales. They may have penetrated into the north-eastern part of this country from the north-west of Europe, in the age, and perhaps about the periods, when the prowess and superior military skill of the Danes and Normans, secured to Canute, and to the Conqueror, the throne of England. They may have

been the whites, whom Indian tradition describes as the former residents of the north-eastern country ; who were conquered and expelled ; whose scattered remnants have occasionally been seen and described by travellers ; and who, some have imagined, were of Welsh extraction. But that these were the first people of America, or that America was first peopled in the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth centuries, would be an improbable proposition.

Philologists, antiquaries, and moral philosophers, may identify portions of the present American family, with their Asiatic, European, or African kindred. But to identify the whole with any particular primitive stock, except the common ancestors of all mankind, we believe would be impossible, though it may continue to be attempted, and not essentially important, if it were possible. After so many ages have elapsed, so many intermixtures taken place, and so little history, even of a traditional kind is before us, the investigation may still exhibit the depth of research, but can hardly repay its labour.*

§ 20.

We have not, in our review, entered into the details or arguments of writers. Enough, however, has appeared, in the course of this inquiry, to evince a probability that this continent has been shaken by terrible revolutions. Events which have agitated the moral, political, and physical foundations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, have here also been displayed with a frightful fidelity of resemblance and effect. In the antiquities of this continent what a range for investigation is presented ! What a field for speculation ! What wonders for contemplation ! They blend the revolutions of, perhaps, an alternate series of dark ages—the fate of millions, who have successively swarmed over this hemisphere, and, possibly, the fate of continents once connected with this, but now reposing under the mighty wave of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

But while contemplating the past, a phenomenon is passing before us, gradually productive of a living revolution as com-

plete, and as silent, as those that lie concealed in the dark ages of our aboriginal story. We refer to the rapid and unobtrusive disappearance of the Indian nations from the face of this continent. We refer to this event, not because it is a subject of regret to behold arts, science, religion, political liberty ; all the endearments which concentrate within the magic circle of domestic felicity, under the benign influence of civilization ; all the enjoyments and advantages which expand the domestic into the broad circle of social happiness, uniting millions in one great family compact, and elevating and dignifying the character of man as a rational being : not because these are the exchanges for the cheerless wild, and the sterility and dreariness of savage life—but we refer to it, as a phenomenon worthy the contemplation of the philosopher and philanthropist.

Impressive and affecting as is the illustration of the fact, beyond the confines of our State, we need not pass our own native Indians, in order to perceive the probable fate that awaits those beyond the Mississippi. There, tribes, discordant and alien to each other, seem to be flocking and crowding together in tremulous suspense, as if, on the approach of civilized man, they had a presage of some portentous doom—a superstitious impression, perhaps, of the approach of their evil Manitto, who comes to sweep them to the tumuli of their fathers. Neither need we travel beyond the regions of Onondaga, the former seat of our native highlanders and mountaineers, the capital of the confederated Iroquois, to read the instability of national potency, and the evanescent tenure of human glory. Yes, within the boundaries of this State, are indications of eventful revolutions in ages past, exhibiting the melancholy and prophetic earnest of those which may in some remote period be reacted, with all the tragical consequences, which, we may presume, resulted from storming, sacking, and devastating that once populous town, whose ruins have been traced in Pompey.*

* See *ante*, p. 13. 60.

The Lenni Lenape,* and Mengwe,† are dispersed from the ancient seats and sepulchres of their forefathers. The territories of the former, (including those of their subdivided tribes or descendants) once extended from the Potomac to the north-east bounds of New-England, along the eastern shores of the Hudson, until they met their rivals, the Iroquois, on the green mountains, beyond the Iroquois Lake (Champlain,) at the north-eastern boundaries of Irocoisia.‡ The middle, western, and northern portions of our State, including that part of Vermont, which was a part of New-York until the revolution, was the proper residence of the Iroquois. But less than a century ago, their territorial dominion, (taking in that of their confederate, subject, or tributary allies) embraced an empire, which might be compared to that of ancient Rome in the height of her imperial prosperity. Stretching from the junction of the Outawais and St. Lawrence, their line extended through Canada, westward to the north of Lake Huron, southward (including Michigan) to the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi, (and, in fact, they claimed, by conquest, nearly to the mouths of this river) thence across Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, to the sources of the Susquehanna and the Hudson. This formidable and renowned confederacy, who were the favourite allies of our Dutch and English colonial governments, who were the dread of the French in Canada, who carried the terror of their arms from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to that of Mexico, and at whose name, nations quaked, and tribes fled, are now nearly reduced to a thousand warriors.§ Some rem-

* Delawares.

† Or *Mengwa* or *Mingwæ*, (confederated six nations) as denominated by the Delawares; hence, *Mingoes*, by the whites; *Maqua*, so called by the Mahiccani; *Iroquois*, by the French; and *Irokesen*, as altered by the Dutch. See hereafter Indian history.

‡ The name of the country, proper, of the Iroquois.

§ It will appear hereafter (in the history of those Indians) that one of the Canada nations or tribes of Indians, actually broke up and fled from the mere terror which the Iroquois' name had spread abroad. (See Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, &c.) and Colden (*Hist. Five Nations*) tells us what panic the name of Mohawk struck into the New-England Indians.

nants of their nations are in Canada, or with those of the unfortunate Lenape, and are found here and there in the western country. They have melted away, or have mingled their destiny with that which awaits the western Indians. With regard to the latter, the tide of migration, which once set so irresistibly from the west, has long been checked by civilization, and is rapidly receding from the shock of its wave, as it rushes upon their confines. By and by they will have passed the Rocky Mountains, and in a few centuries, scarcely a remnant will be seen, unless along the beach of the Pacific, the utmost boundaries to which they can flee, where, as they gaze upon the illimitable expanse, and turn back to the country of their ancestors, they will mingle with the resounding surge, the death-song of departed nations.

Whence is this revolution? From what causes is it in complete operation? Is it, that an invisible decree has fixed the date of their existence, and marked the periods of their recession and final extinction? Or does the tree of civilization, when planted in their territory, become as contaminating as the poison of the fabled Bohon Upas? Whatever the cause may be, they are passing away in a manner probably different from that of the authors of the ruins which we have contemplated, but not less fatally effectual.

But while nation after nation has disappeared within a few years, and tribe after tribe is imperceptibly vanishing before us; while their patrimony has become our inheritance, let their descendants become the objects of our commiseration and our care. Let us at least avoid any cruelty or injustice towards them; or, perhaps, the period may come, and its arrival be prematurely accelerated, (if there is any reality in national virtue and reward, national crime and amenability) when the bones of their ancestors, which lie bleaching beneath our feet, will become to us dragon's teeth and armed men.!

"Policy," says an eloquent French civilian, (61) "may have its plans and its mysteries, but reason ought to preserve her influence and dignity. Equity is the virtue of empires—moderation is the wisdom of great nations, as well as of great

men." While we should continue to recognise, in our public treaties and intercourse, these Indian nations as independent, let principles like those remain the maxims of our policy ; and whether in peace or war, let us practically apply towards them, as well as civilized nations, that most excellent definition of the law of nations, "Do in peace the greatest possible good ; in war, the least possible evil."

While such principles distinguish our national policy, it may be our turn to reign for ages masters of the ascendant, and reap the reward of that equity which is the virtue of empires, until the period (which the annals of other nations inform us may follow upon a long course of public prosperity) shall arrive, when, by national degeneracy and criminality, we shall have become ripened for ruin. Then, having passed the periods of our rise, our progress, and our decline, the instruments of our punishment may be found among the future barbarians of the northern hives, (if not of Asia and Europe) perhaps of this continent, in those boundless regions beyond the latitude of our own Caspian and Euxine seas, where hordes scarcely less numerous and formidable than those which poured upon degenerate Rome, will have been gathering for ages, equally fierce and daring ; restless from inclemency of climate, famine, love of change, and war ; disciplined for rapine ; roused by the prospect of plunder, and attracted by the polished improvements and submissive effeminacy, which luxury and vice will have induced : they may mark their victorious and sanguinary descent upon our country with havoc and desolation, prostrate temples and edifices, sacked and ravaged cities, wasted kingdoms ; sparing nothing, except such works of art and fortifications of defence, as those which form so interesting a portion of our antiquities, the materials of which would resist not only the incursions of barbarians, but the ravages of time.

Then will recommence the dark ages of this continent. During the succeeding reign of barbarism and of ignorance, the monuments of our civilization will slumber in forgetful-

ness, until the full circle of revolution will have been completed, and the sun of science shall have arisen to dispel the gloom, and civilization reappeared and resumed her ancient dominion. Then the future antiquary will pass over our State, view the remains of cities, temples, sepulchres, fortifications, mark the manifest vestiges of an unknown people, far more advanced in arts than the immediate pre-occupants of the soil, and as he approaches those works which will appear to him, from their broken culverts, shattered locks, and decayed banks, to have been artificial rivers, he will pause to contemplate this wonder. He will explore their extent; he will perceive their design; and, with intense interest and solicitude, exclaim: What eclipse of reason could have given birth to the wild fancy of uniting the great Caspian and Mediterranean seas of North America with the Atlantic Ocean? What penetrating genius could have perceived its possibility? What comprehensive intellect could have embraced the plan, and traced its bearings, and proved its practicability? What daring spirit could have grappled with the gigantic difficulties which must have arisen in the nature of so bold a scheme, from an honest belief in its insurmountability and ruinous expenditure? What kindred spirits arose to foster the mighty project? What enterprising and opulent people were found to give impulse to so stupendous a work? In what age did they flourish—in what disastrous era were their liberties annihilated? Thus will he view those venerable remains, which will appear to him shrouded in impenetrable mystery, until at length he will perhaps discover, in the enclosure of some prostrate marble column, or amidst the rubbish of some half-buried ruins of ancient edifices, the means of unravelling the mystery, and of holding up to the admiration and emulation of new ages, the illustrious genius of our State and age.

Is this the vision of morbid fancy, or is it a prophetic inscription, which past experience has written upon the fabric of society, to admonish nations of their duty or their destiny?

It is an inscription which, in Africa, may be traced on the spot where Marius ruminated over the ruins of Carthage,

and be read in hieroglyphics upon the pyramids of Egypt. It is an inscription which, in Europe, was written in characters of blood by the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Huns, Saxons, throughout the extended empires they subverted; and after their barbarous dominion of ten ages had passed, it was an inscription which their civilized successors could decipher on the fallen columns of ancient Roman and Grecian magnificence. It is an inscription which in Asia may be traced to ancient Scythia, followed up in the wasteful ravages of their Tartar descendants, and in the wide-spread desolation of the Arabians. In almost every instance it will appear to have been written upon civilization, the arts, the sciences, opulence, and splendour. And no where is it to be discerned at this moment in more legible characters, than in the countries conquered by the last-mentioned people.

From the ninth to the fourteenth century, while Europe was in utter darkness, civilization lighted up the dominions of Arabia. The sciences and arts, enriched by the treasures of Greece, Persia, and Chaldea, and by the literary relics of the subject provinces of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt; arose to the highest pitch of perfection, under the patronage of her caliphs.* Now superstition and ignorance, moral darkness and political dismay, brood over those extensive dominions.

“The rich countries of Fez and Morocco,† illustrious for five centuries, by the number of their academies, their universities, and their libraries, are now only deserts of burning sand, which the human tyrant disputes with the beast of prey. The smiling and fertile shores of Mauritania, where commerce, arts, and agriculture attained their highest prosperity, are now the retreats of corsairs, who spread horror over the seas, and who only relax from their labours in shameful debauch-

* See page 9. *ante*.

† Says Sismondi, in his glowing picture and eloquent description of the past and present literature, and condition of those regions, where Islamism reigned and still reigns. See Vol. I. ch. 2. *ib.* Roscoe's elegant translation.

ries, until the plague periodically comes to select its victims from amongst them, and to avenge offended humanity. Egypt has by degrees been swallowed up by the sands, which formerly fertilized it. Syria and Palestine are desolated by the wandering Bedouins, less terrible still than the Pacha who opposes them. Bagdad, formerly the residence of luxury, of power, and of knowledge, is a heap of ruins. In this immense extent of territory, twice or thrice as large as Europe, nothing is found but ignorance, slavery, terror, and death. The prodigious literary riches of the Arabians no longer exist in any of the countries where the Arabians and the Mussulmans rule. What have been preserved are in the hands of their enemies, in the convents of the monks, or in the royal libraries of Europe. And yet these vast countries have not been conquered. It is not the stranger who has despoiled them of their riches, who has annihilated their population, and destroyed their laws, their manners, and their national spirit. The poison was their own ; it was administered by themselves, and the result has been their own destruction.

“ Who may say, that Europe itself, whither the empire of letters and of science, has been transported, which sheds so brilliant a light, which forms so correct a judgment of the past, and which compares so well the successive reigns of the literature and manners of antiquity, shall not, in a few ages, become as wild and deserted as the hills of Mauritania, the sands of Egypt, and the valleys of Anatolia ? ”

And who may say that when Europe shall have paid the deep retributive debt, which she owes to the wrongs of Africa and the East Indies, or when, from whatever causes she shall have transcended the period of her decline, that America, (now in the youth of her existence, yet the home of the exile, the asylum of the oppressed, and perhaps the last intrenchment of liberty,) may not be the country in which the European name is destined to become merged, as that of Rome had been lost in Europe ! (62) Who may say that when our country also shall have passed onward to its full maturity of magnificence and of crime ; when, perhaps, after the fondest visions of the

sages and patriots of old shall have been realised, in the perfect accomplishment of the political experiment of a government, founded like ours, strengthening as it expands, and adapted to embrace in one vast compact, a population whose territory shall be laved by the two oceans; when having attained a prosperity too unexampled, and too intoxicating to be enduring, national degeneracy shall have prepared the way; then the revolutionary wheel, having slowly passed its round of ages, from the Antipodes through desolated Europe, may at last appear in our hemisphere, distant at first, like a portending speck, more apparent and appalling as it approaches, until its awful recognition will be seen and felt in the wreck and crush of kingdoms! Who can say, therefore, that the fatal and monitory inscription which the Scythians, the Tartars, and the Scandinavians, as they successively poured in upon this continent from the north of Asia and of Europe, have written in our own State and country upon the monuments in ruins, of a people now unknown, may not also be inscribed upon those grand works, upon which the genius and resources of our State have been profusely lavished, which constitute so much of our national pride, and which we fondly but vainly hope will give an imperishable celebrity to our name and national era!

§ 21.

Secondly, *Was America known to Europe before Columbus?*

IN the review of the preceding question, an answer to the second, viz. : Was America known to Europe before Columbus? has been anticipated in a great measure.

If a minute inquiry into the origin of the peopling of America, or the remote causes and events which antedated and influenced its discovery by Columbus, had been consistent with the limited scope of this work, there also might have been investigated the maritime skill and sagacity, commerce and enterprise of the ancients; there also might have been discussed the relative merits of the pretensions which almost every nation has set up, (since Columbus disclosed a new world,) to the honour of before discovering, or the credit of originally peopling it.

The system which placed the sun in the centre, was taught in ancient schools of philosophy. This theory naturally led to the supposition of antipodes. The opinion of their existence had partisans in the time of St. Augustine, for that father opposed it. Its truth was condemned in the eighth century: hence it must have been believed by some, even in that dark age. Thales, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Anaxagoras accounted for a solar eclipse: Aristotle explained a lunar one. The spherical figure of the earth was not only probably known to the ancients, but they may have had faint ideas of this, as a part of the Indian continent. (63) * They doubtless appear to have entertained some idea of a western continent. The sunken Atlantis of Plato, has formed the subject of one of the learned hypotheses, explanatory of the origin of the aborigines of this portion of that vast island*

* See *ante* p. 76. 83.

The attractive properties of the magnet were anciently known; and for aught we can say, navigation might, in remote ages, have had all the facilities which we possess. Bishop Huet in his history of the commerce and navigation of the ancients,* presents in a condensed form, sufficient evidence of that bold and adventurous spirit, which might have ventured at times into the trackless ocean. He maintains that the Cape of Good Hope was frequented and doubled in the days of Solomon, and that the isle of Fortunatus might have been America, to which Carthaginian ships in the days of Hanno were driven by a tempest.

We have already suggested that the compass was known in the Arabian dominions, (of which Spain was a provincial part,) in the eleventh century.† Whether the coetaneous Scandinavians, or Madoc in the following century, or Zeno‡ in the fourteenth, had its guidance, is problematical. Reverting to an anterior period, while the legends of Arthur, Malgo, and the friar of Lynne may be ranked with the monsters of fable, and the indefinite allusion to a spot in Africa or elsewhere, by Virgil, (64) in foretelling the extent of Cæsar's dominions, and the still more unlocated prediction of Seneca, in his Mædean tragedy, of the discovery of a new country, and some other visions of a similar incertitude may be considered pictures of fancy, as destitute of "a local habitation" as Plato's commonwealth, Moore's Eutopia, Harrington's Oceana, or Bacon's new Atlantis: nevertheless there are other accounts, (some of which have fallen under the first question,) indiscriminately proscribed by some as fabulous, which merit serious deliberation.

* Translated from the French, Lond. 1717. See also Belknap's American Biography, Prel. Diss. Anarcharses, vol. II. Edward's West Indies, vol. I. Clarke's Progress of Maritime Science.

† *Ante* p. 10, and Note 2.

‡ See Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages. Dr. Forster's Northern Voyages. Belknap's American Biography.

§ 22.

But an elaborate disquisition upon cosmogony,* would not be less unprofitable or inappropriate than a minute examination into the truth and particulars of all the ancient voyages, designed or accidental, which, it has been conjectured, led to this continent: even those of an European description, supposed to have been made prior to Columbus, we shall not notice, except they have some bearing upon our local history. That of Madoc was spoken of under the first question. The Scandinavian voyages were also referred to, and will be examined under the third inquiry. Without attempting, therefore, to identify America, as the land to which Aristotle and Theophrastus (65) (two thousand years ago,) asserted that some merchants passing Gibraltar, had been tempest-driven far west, or to trace the discovery made by a part of the Phœnician fleet that circumnavigated Africa (66) according to Herodotus, or follow that of Carthage, which, Pliny says, extended to the Canary Islands; or inquire whether this continent was first discovered by the Chinese, as Vossius declares: (67) by the Cuthite or Amonian family whose maritime adventures constitute, as Bryant advances, (68) so much of ancient mythology; passing by also the German navigator Martin Behaim,† and the Venetian voyager Zeno,‡ both of whom have had their advocates: let us turn to Columbus, and see whether at the period in which he flourished, the revival of learning had sufficiently prepared the age for the discovery he projected, by a disclosure of such facts as, if known, might justly have stripped him of the glory of its origination.

* See Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker*, the first two chapters.

† Whose discovery is advocated by Mr. Otto, but see Jer. Belknap's tract as to this pretension, and also Vol. I. *Belk. Amer. Biog.* p. 127, Vol. XIV. *North American Review*, p. 37.

‡ See Foster's *Northern Voyages*, &c. Vol. I. *Belk. Amer. Biog.* p. 67

It may be remarked that these various pretensions have been made since his time. They would probably have slumbered till this day, unless some daring adventurer like him, should have given similar occasion to put them forth.

§ 23.

The knowledge of the magnet and its power to impart to the needle its polar virtues, was known in Italy at the commencement of the fourteenth century.* Still for a century maritime adventure was cautiously hazarded. No idea of a western continent appears to have been prevalent. The torrid zone was still looked upon as a fiery and impassable barrier to modern discovery. (69) Although the project of Columbus resulted from just reasoning upon the figure of the earth, and his discovery, though differing from the one he sought, was the offspring of wise design and fortunate accident; yet the same ignorance and bigotry which had condemned Virgilius, Bishop of Cologn, for asserting the antipodes, and which had spared his life only on a solemn renunciation, started a like objection to the proposals of Columbus, grounded upon St. Augustine's book, wherein he expressed his doubt of the existence of the antipodes, and the possibility of going from one hemisphere to another. To contradict the writings of this holy father were little less than heresy.† Columbus therefore had to contend with bigotry and ignorance, to combat cowardly selfishness and that ignoble prejudice which elevates itself to the hypercritical's importance, and points to the novelty of a theory, as conclusive against its verity. The same superstitious incredulity and illiberality of conception, which at other times virulently opposed Descartes for doubting the truth of Aristotle's philosophy, once the favourite of the learned; (70) which censoriously condemned Newton for questioning Descartes; which inflicted the inquisition upon Galileo for demonstrating the

* See note 2.† See Herrera, Robertson, and Bellknap's *Life of Columbus*.

earth's motion ; which treated Locke harshly even for his essay on the human understanding ; (71) was the predominant characteristic of the times in which Columbus was treated as an insane projector, until by the triumphant result of his experiment, he overcame prejudice, ignorance, and superstition, and unfolded to the world a new era in its history.

§ 24.

Although he was not probably ignorant of the vague ideas of the ancients, and certainly had reason to believe, that by sailing westward he should meet new countries, a supposed part of India ; (72) although he was aware of the Portuguese adventures, and knew that they had crossed the line (1471) twenty-one years before he sailed, yet the rejection of his plans alternately by his native city, by Portugal, and for several years by Spain, exhibit the incredulity of the age, and present him in the true light of an original discoverer.

Original and comprehensive in his views, Columbus improved upon the limited experience, and rejected the visionary theories of his predecessors ; and while he astonished Europe by crowning with success the unique singularity of his plans, he displayed to the eye of philanthropy, a character which happily blended that fervor of inventive genius which dares to transcend the confines of long established error, with that decision which deliberates maturely, but adheres confidently to its conclusions ; that caution bordering on timidity, which vigilantly guards against every adventitious obstacle, with that energy of perseverance, which in the pursuit of a determinate object, is undismayed by temporary disappointment, peril, or mutiny, and constantly rises superior to all opposition, under a strong and noble consciousness of pre-eminent merit and unimpeachable rectitude, which can look envy and malignity in the face with cool composure, and smile disdainfully upon ingratitude and chains !

The narrative and incidents of his voyages, and his biography, are too familiarly known and too remotely connected with

the history of this State, to require or justify a recapitulation. Poetry* has combined with history† in commemorating his fame to immortality. Although this and subsequent Spanish discoveries were the basis of the Spanish claim, supported by the Pope's gift of the discovered continent, (which of course embraced the territory of this State,) yet for the reasons above assigned, we shall hasten by this, as well as the discovery of Americus Vesputius,‡ to whom the honour of giving name to the whole continent has been bestowed, with less merit than even Madoc is entitled to, if we are to credit Herbert, and others who are his advocates. But whether this country should be called Colonia, Columbia, Madocia or Nova Britannia, (73) or its northern section, Sebastiana, Cabotia, or Fredonia, (74) is an inquiry, which at this day would be fruitless to institute. A task indeed would it be to induce mankind to stand sponsor to a national baptism.

§ 25.

The discovery of America dispelled the delusions of speculative theory and bigoted prejudice, kindled an enthusiasm which had scarcely example or limits, and originated in modern history, another age of chivalrous crusade, not like that which precipitated Europe upon Asia Minor, but a crusade upon a different element, prosecuted with different views and attended with different results, except by that of the melancholy waste of life which ultimately followed in their train.

But while it is highly probable that America had been visit-

* Columbiad, by Joel Barlow.

† See life of Colon by his son, in Pinkerton's collections, Robertson's America. See Belknap's American Biography Columbus.

‡ See Viaggi d'Amerigo Vespucci, &c. reviewed in Vol. III. (new series) North American Review, p. 318, where the biography and discoveries of Vespucci are traced, his merits vindicated, and those of Columbus, Cabots, &c. canvassed in a manner new and masterly. "America," was it seems, applied at first, to that part of the continent only which is now denominated Brazil.

ed by Europeans before Columbus, yet such was the state of knowledge in his day, that he richly merits the honour of originality. Neither can that honour be tarnished by the abuses which followed his discovery, whether directed towards himself or towards the unoffending natives of this continent. His was the glory of projecting an achievement which required a character precisely like his to plan and to execute, and which found in a female only, a capacity which could appreciate, and a liberality which would patronise one of the noblest designs that human intellect ever conceived. The spirit of maritime adventure which the successful result of this design awakened, will be developed in the examination of the next question, viz:

§ 26.

Thirdly, *What Europeans first explored the North American coasts, and discovered those and the harbours of New-York?*

IN the examination of the two prior questions, it will have appeared probable, that the North American coasts were visited by adventurers from ancient Europe, many centuries before they were known to modern Europeans. We reserved our intended notice of the Scandinavian voyages for present inquiry, because it is said they extended to our coasts. During the eventful transfers of the territorial sovereignty of this State within the two last centuries, from the Iroquois and Lenape to the Dutch, from the Dutch to the English, and prior to their recognition of our independence, it will be seen that Spain and France, as well as England and Holland, alternately claimed this territory, upon a principle which will be particularly developed in the examination of the fourth question. The voyages conducted under the auspices of each of those powers, will therefore be noticed. In the course of the examination, we shall also occasionally refer chronologically to contemporaneous discoveries or events which transpired in North America, not only to illustrate those conflicting pretensions, and the principle upon which they were predicated, but also to unfold the grounds of the boundary disputes of our State while a colony, with the surrounding states, and the causes of the wars and revolutions in which New-York has been involved in consequence of those claims and disputes.

By the coasts and harbours of New-York, we shall understand its frontiers and sea-board boundaries as they were defined or controverted during our proprietary and colonial governments, or as they are now settled. Consequently, they

will partly comprise at the north, Lake Champlain, the rivers Sorelle and St. Lawrence; eastwardly, parts of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, as far as the river of that name, and as far as Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth's island, No Man's Land, Pemaquid, and the territories and islands adjacent, belonging to the Duke of York agreeably to the English eastern colonial boundary :* or from Cape May to Cape Henlopen, according to the Dutch claim; or from Connecticut river to the Delaware, according to their possession: westerly, including New-Jersey and part of Pennsylvania, until its western confines reached Lake Erie, Niagara, and Lake Ontario.

The discovery of the coasts of this State has been the subject of controversy, especially between the English and Dutch writers of the seventeenth century. In many points they contradict each other. Even among the more modern writers of England, some declare that their nation lays a just claim to the discovery, not so much from motives of vanity, as from the desire to defend the British right of possession. (75) According to the latter, Sebastian Cabot, sailed along the coast of New-York as early as the year 1497.

§ 27.

But, whether any of the navigators who explored the North American coasts in the sixteenth century, discovered those of New-York, will become the inquiry after we shall have examined the title of the Danes, Norwegians, or Swedes, to the honour, without having acquired the profits of an anterior discovery. If, indeed, the Scandinavian voyagers penetrated as far as

* The former having once comprised "Duke's County," the latter (Pemaquid, &c.) "The County of Cornwall," according to "an Act to divide this province and dependences into shires and countyes," passed by the first legislature that ever assembled in this colony, viz. in 1683. (See Vol. II. New-York Revised Laws of 1813. Appex. No. III.) These counties were subsequently surrendered to Massachusetts. (ib.)

Montauk Point, or any of the islands in that vicinity, they clearly visited our coast several centuries before any southern European nation had discovered America. If so, the English had no better claim to our territory than the Dutch, whom they dispossessed; nor the latter, so much right as the Swedes, whose settlement, made in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, on the Delaware river, was broken up by the Dutch during the administration of their governor, Peter Stuyvesant.*

In a late dissertation,† written by Johannes Henry Scröder,‡ of the university of Upsal, a learned effort is made to prove that the Scandinavians in the eleventh century extended their discoveries to the coasts of North America, from the 40 or 41st to the 49 or 50th degree of latitude; consequently, that they coasted Long Island, Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket, to Newfoundland.

The learned men in the south of Europe, it would seem from this dissertation, do not appear to have been aware of the value of the records existing in the north, notwithstanding the publication of Torfæus more than a century ago, viz. his *Vinlandia* and *Gronlandia Antiqua*.§

As early as the middle of the ninth century, the island of Iceland was known to the *Norrmán*, (people of the north, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, or, in one word, Scandinavians) under the name of *Snaland*. *Gardar Svafarson*, a Swede, circumnavigated the island, and gave it the name of *Gardarsholm*. He was followed by *Floke*, a Norwegian, who gave it its present name, *Iceland* (*Island*.) In order to avoid oppression under the reign of *Harald*, (surnamed *Hárfager*, that is, with handsome hair) king of Norway, a colony, of the no-

* As will appear in our History of the Colony of New-Netherlands hereafter.

† Om Skandinavernes Fordna Upptackts-resor Till Nord Amerika, af Joh. Henr. Schroder. Upsala, 1818. For the translation of such parts of it as are comprised within the following abstract, we are indebted to the Swedish consul, resident in New-York, Henry Gahn, Esq.

‡ Philos. Doctor et Art. Liberal. Magister in Academia Upsaliensi Histor. Litt. Docens, etc.

§ This rare work is in the library of Harvard University.

blest and best men of that country emigrated to Iceland, under their leader, *Ingolf*, who there established himself in the year 874. Here begin the *Islandic written records*, and from this period, the voyages and maritime excursions of the Scandinavians can be traced with tolerable precision.

About a century after the colony of Iceland was established, *Eric Raude*, a Norwegian, in the year 981 sailed from that island towards the north, and discovered *Greenland*, where the climate was then so mild, and the fields so verdant, that it consequently acquired that name.

From those colonies, about the middle of the eleventh century, these voyages of discovery begin to be mentioned, as occasioned by the zeal of the celebrated *Olof Tryggvason*, who then appeared in Norway as the noble champion of Christianity.

Björn Herjulfson, a native of Iceland, a relation of its colonizing founder, *Ingolf*, and an adventurous navigator and shipowner, had proceeded to Norway, and passed some time there. On his return to Iceland, he ascertained that his father, *Herjulf Bardarson*, had, in the preceding spring, sailed for Greenland, where he had established himself at the place still called after him, *Herjulfsnás*,* (*Herjulf's Point*.) *Björn Herjulfson*, and his associates, immediately resolved to follow in quest of *Herjulf*, notwithstanding the reputed dangers of such a voyage. Accordingly, they left Iceland, and after a navigation of three days, when no land was in sight, the wind changed to the north, with foggy weather, and blew a heavy gale, so that, for several successive days, they did not know their course. At last, one day, when the weather cleared and the storm abated, so that they could hoist their sails, they discovered, towards evening, land, which, they were sure, could not be *Greenland*, the land-mark of which, (as is related by *Sturleson*,†) was known to them by its high snowy moun-

* In the map prefixed to Forster's Northern Voyages, it is '*Herjolfsnauffs*.'

† On whose fidelity Mr. Schroder places implicit reliance. He is often referred to in this dissertation, and appears to have been the father of history in the north.

tains. They approached nearer, and discovered a country without mountains, covered with trees, and with here and there small hills.

They did not venture to land, but they now departed, *leaving the country on their left side, (ba-bord)* and after a navigation of two days, they again saw land, which they found to be flat, and covered with trees. Without landing, they continued their course with a *southwest wind (utsynningsbyr, in Islandic)* for three days, when they discovered land again, which was high, with barren cliffs, and *icy mountains*. This they coasted, and found it to be an island. The wind continuing the same, they now steered their course to sea, when, after a further navigation of four days, attended by some gales and heavy weather, they at last discovered, and made to the southeasternmost point of Greenland, which was the place of residence of *Bjorn Herjulfson's* father.

From this account of the voyage, as thus related by *Sturleson*, the author of this dissertation, infers, that *Bjorn Herjulfson* discovered some parts of the coast of North America. He considers that the direction of the wind, as related by *Sturleson*, is conclusive, that the unknown coast was that of North America. A violent *north wind* drove them to a country far distant, and they left it *on their left side*; when they returned back to Greenland, with a wind from the *south-west*.

The fame of these adventurers induced *Leifr Erison*, an enterprising youth of distinguished courage among the Greenland colonists, to undertake and perform a voyage in the same direction. He had already derived experience from several voyages to Norway, having been engaged in conveying to Greenland several of its missionary settlers. In the present novel and hazardous adventure, he associated thirty-five able and bold men like himself, and having purchased *Bjorn's* ship, he set sail with his comrades. The voyage was prosperous. They found the country *Bjorn* had discovered. *Sturleson* does not relate the number of days they employed in their voyage thither. They first approached a

hilly country, which they called ‘*Helluland*,’ (land of hills) thence they put to sea, and sailed till they next arrived at another of a less forbidding aspect than the first. Consulting their safety, they anchored some distance from the coast, and sent their boat ashore. The country was flat, low, woody, contained plenty of roots, and a white sand. They named it ‘*Markland*.’ Again they continued their course, with a wind from the north-east, without seeing land for two days, when they arrived at an island, which, according to *Sturleson*, lay northward from the main land. Here they landed, and the weather being pleasant, they made an excursion into the country. These Norrman were surprised when they found dew on the grass, which was very sweet. They did not remain long, but again entered into their ship, and sailed into a Sound, which, according to *Sturleson*, lay between the island and a point, which projected northward from the main land, and passing in, they steered westward, until they found the water so low, that they went aground, and lay till flood tide. Then they towed their vessel through the stream into an inlet, which led into a lake, in order to remain there in safety, as they determined to pass the winter here. They accordingly took their things on shore, built temporary huts, and afterwards erected a commodious house. They found abundance of fish, especially fine salmon. They were regaled with excellent fruit. The climate was so mild, that the grass on the ground decayed very little, as there was not much frost during the winter. The days and nights were far more equal than those to which these Norrman had been accustomed in the north.

Here the author of the dissertation observes, that a diversity of commentary upon this passage of *Sturleson* has prevailed among the learned. M. Schröder, however, prefers to follow *Schroning*, who shows, in his history of Norway, and upon the authority of the statement, as given by the learned *Vidalin*, that during the shortest day, the sun rose at half-past seven, and set at half-past four, and, of course, that the day was nine hours long; consequently, that this country should

be looked for in the forty-first degree of north latitude. It is probably impossible, says Mr. Schroder, to come nearer to a fixed conclusion. That the Scandinavians actually discovered North America, (he observes in another part of his dissertation) is confirmed by an Islandic record, which describes that between Greenland and *Vinland*, (the name, which, we shall presently find, was given to that part of the country thus discovered by these last-mentioned adventurers) was an immense inlet from the sea, which, without any effort of fancy, is obviously the Strait of Davis and the Bay of Baffin. *Vinland*, he continues, must be sought between the fortieth and fiftieth degree of north latitude. The probability is, that these discoveries extended from the fiftieth or forty-ninth degree, down to the forty-first, or from Labrador by Newfoundland, to the coast of *Virginia*, (as the country comprising the New-England states, New-York, and the states south of it, was denominated in the days of Elizabeth.*) The most northern region of their discovery, was the '*Helluland*' of these adventurers. The southern, their '*Vinland*,' as *Leifr Erison* called the country where he took up his abode for the winter, agreeably to the account of *Sturleson*, to which we shall recur after superadding to Mr. Schroder's observations, one or two of our own. If, as he concludes, the se discoverers penetrated to the fortieth or forty-first degree, some part of the territory, comprised within the colonial, or present boundaries of New-York, must consequently have been that where they located for the winter. Or, if we include its territory under the more comprehensive term of ancient *Virginia*, New-York, as a part of it, must therefore have been a part of ancient *Vinland*. We would not feel ourselves at liberty to undertake to fix the precise spot of their wintering haven. If we should, we might, in the bold flight of a licensed fancy, ranging through the vista of eight centuries, perhaps follow *Erison* and his brave companions, as they passed into the Long Island 'Sound,' to some harbour westward of its northern extremity; or we might trace them along the eastern 'white sandy' beach of that

* See *post*, p. 125.

island, until they should reach the main land, (now a part of Monmouth county, in New-Jersey) when, determining to winter, and discovering from the inlet at Sandy Hook, that the land they had coasted was an 'island,' lying 'north from the main land,' they proceeded round the point (Sandy Hook) 'which projected northward from the main land,' steered 'westward from it' into Amboy Bay, and wintered on the banks of that or some other bay in the vicinity of Staten Island.*

From this retrospection of mere fancy, we will revert to something more tenable—the authentic account of *Leifr Errison* in his winter quarters, as continued by *Sturleson*. Here, having erected a house, *Errison* divided his party into two divisions, one of whom were to explore the country, the other to remain at their habitation. The exploring party returned every evening. In their excursions, they found the grape in abundance, and from this, they gave to the country the name of '*Vinland*,' (the land of the Vine) by which it has ever since been known in the Islandic records.

On the approach of spring, they began to think of returning. Having laden their ship with the natural productions of the country, among which were the maize, or wild wheat, and a wood, ('masur') indigenous to these regions, they put to sea, and with a fair wind, and without any accident, arrived in sight of the high land of Greenland. They do not say that on their return, they visited any part of the continent, but steered directly to Greenland. From this fact, it would appear that these northern navigators dared to venture into the open ocean, and by no means confined themselves in their voyages to the coasts. *Leifer* returned to the residence of his father in Greenland. His renown spread far and wide, and excited new and similar adventures among the Greenland colonists.

Thorwaldr Errison, a brother of *Leifr Errison*, adventured next. He selected thirty associates, and had the use of his brother's ship. They arrived safely in *Vinland*, and passed

* Newark Bay appears most like a "lake." Varrazano, when he reached Sandy Hook, speaks of a "lake" in that vicinity. See hereafter

the winter, living principally on fish. In the spring they explored the country.

They proceeded in their long-boat to examine the coast, and found it beautiful, and covered with wood. The beach was all along of white sand, such as Leifr Errison had seen in his voyage.* Near the shore were a great many islands and small islets, and very shallow water. They found no traces of man or beast; but on an island further westward they discovered a barn, or shelter, for protecting the harvest. This was the only indication of human art which they found. Their excursions during this summer were made in the boat, and extended along the coast in a westerly direction. It seems they again wintered; for the account states that the next summer they determined to bend their course to the northward and eastward, and for that purpose they prepared the ship instead of the boat. They had not yet seen any of the inhabitants. Having renewed their examination, they came to a place where they landed, which appeared so beautiful, that Thorwaldr determined to establish a colony there. They had scarcely returned to their ship, when they saw three boats coming towards them, each containing three natives. These were the "*Skrælingar*," as Sturleson calls them: a word of contempt, denoting a *weak and pigmy race* of people; though some authors think it only refers to *the inferiority of their weapons*. Under that denomination the Esquimaux were not unknown to the Greenland colonists. In those days that race may have spread over the regions of ancient Vinland, and subsequently receded northward.† As the natives, before mentioned, approached the ship, Thorwaldr instead of permitting them to advance in peace, commenced so furious an attack upon them, that one only escaped in his canoe to the shore. After this inglorious adventure, its heroes again landed. The war-cry of the natives soon resounded in their ears; for they had rushed on in numbers to renew the combat, and to

* At this day the coasts are described as similar.

† See *ante*, p. 60.

avènge this outrage, but the aggressors fled to their ship, put themselves on the defensive, and effectually repelled the assailants. One of their arrows, however, proved mortal to *Thorwaldr*. He, in his dying moments, advised his companions to return to the place of their former rendezvous, and join their comrades, (a part of the company which it seems had remained where they first arrived, not having embarked in these exploring expeditions.)

This advice was followed. After wintering once more, the survivors returned to Greenland in the following spring, and related, as Sturleson says, to the astonished Greenlanders, the wonderful story of their adventures.

Thorstein Errison (third brother to *Leifr Errison*) next undertook a voyage towards Vinland, which proved a most unfortunate one; for he and his associates were driven by storm to the western part of Greenland, where most of his company, and lastly he himself fell victims to sickness.

The melancholy issue of this attempt, did not discourage the renewal of these south-western maritime adventures. *Thorfin Karlsefne* (an *amazing rich man*, says Sturleson,) had recently arrived in Greenland from Norway, and married *Gudrid*, the widow of the unfortunate *Thorstein Errison*. His fate did not deter the husband of his widow from casting his eye towards Vinland, which was now viewed by the Greenland colonists, as their promised land, where wealth and fame awaited their adventurous enterprise. *Thorfin Karlsefne*, his wife, and more than fifty companions, among whom were five women, prepared for embarkation. He was joined by other adventurers, so that when he set sail, he was the leader of three ships and one hundred and forty persons.

Torfæus describes minutely this expedition. Its leader had greater objects in view than his predecessors. He designed to establish a colony, and for this purpose his followers were more numerous than those of any prior adventurer, and they were supplied with cattle of various kinds. The preliminary condition of their colonising association,

was, that the promised land should be divided equally between them.

They arrived safe at Vinland, and took quarters in the house which Leifr Errison had long before erected. The cattle in their range found excellent pasturage. The country afforded, for the sustenance of the adventurers, fine fruit, including grapes, and a supply of various kinds of fish. During the succeeding winter the natives (*Skrælingarne*) did not present themselves. They approached towards the ensuing summer peacefully, and for traffic. They gave furs and peltry for such trifles as the adventurers would part with, especially for red cloth, which the former fancifully bound round their heads. They manifested an inclination for the possession of weapons. These *Thorstein* would not permit his followers to dispose of. He substituted, however, the sale of milk, with which the natives were highly gratified. Apprehensive and cautious, he now surrounded their habitation with palisadoes, in order to guard against surprise. Thus they passed the summer. On the approach of winter the natives in great numbers came to them and traded peaceably. One of them being detected in the act of stealing a weapon, was killed. This interrupted their amicable intercourse. Its infraction was followed by a mutual combat, in which the natives were put to flight. Under these circumstances a longer residence was deemed unsafe.

The Norrman finally abandoned the country. They shipped a rich cargo of skins, wood, (*masur* wood, a kind of beech then thought valuable) and other natural products of the country. According to the *Saga* (*record*) of Erik Raude, giving a more particular account of this expedition, (as may be seen by reference to *Torfæus*) it appears that *Thorfin Karlsefne* and his followers had resided three years in Vinland, and that on their departure they carried to Greenland three native children, who were baptized and instructed in Christianity.

These Vinland voyages were now talked of, says Sturleson, as very profitable. Hitherto they had been a family secret among the connexions of Leifr Errison.

His sister, "*Freydisa Eriksdotter*, (that is, Erick's daughter,) now planned an expedition for Vinland. With this view she entered into an agreement with "*Helge and Finnboge*," who were brothers, and natives of Iceland. They had just arrived from Norway with a ship of their own. The two contracting parties mutually agreed to take an equal number of followers; that number should be thirty men able to bear arms, besides women, so as to place both parties on a par, and that each should embark in a separate ship. Accordingly they sailed and arrived safely at Vinland. *Freydisa* however had secretly brought five persons in her train, more than the stipulated number. This deceitful violation of her agreement became the foundation of great hatred, especially as it took place at a period when the sacredness of promises, and when personal bravery were held in the highest repute. The distrust and coolness which were now manifested, broke out in hostility, and ended in scenes of violence. This atrocious woman at last persuaded her husband, (whose name was *Thorvaldr*, who had accompanied her from Greenland, and who in other respects made a very inconspicuous figure in this expedition,) secretly to murder the two Norrman and their companions, and to seize their ship. The deed was executed. *Freydisa* and her husband returned to Greenland with rich cargoes. She spread a report that the two brothers had remained in Vinland. She rewarded her followers very liberally, in order to induce them to corroborate her false story. Rumour of the outrage however spread abroad, and and at length excited general astonishment and disgust.

With this tragical narrative the accounts as given by Sturleson, end. He adds that *Thorfin Karlsefne* (the rich,) after his return from Vinland, remained some time in Greenland; then fitted out his ship with a rich cargo for Norway, where having sold it, he returned and resided in Iceland. Here he was held in great respect, and became the founder of a numerous posterity: among whom, (Sturleson superadds,) the traditions of these Vinland expeditions were best preserved.

Subsequently to the period of the last expedition, Vinland does not appear to have been often visited. It is true that the *Eyrbyggja-Sagan*, (a record of Iceland,) mentions, that towards the latter part of the reign of *Olof the Pious*, one "*Gunleif Gunlaugson*" was overtaken on the west coast of Ireland by a violent and long-continued storm, which drove him to a distant and unknown country, where he and his comrades narrowly escaped death from the natives. This unknown land was probably the same extensive coast which had previously been visited by the Scandinavians. This is probable, from the circumstance that the record further states, that those weather-beaten adventurers found there an Iclander, who was in great repute among the natives. The *Saga* (record) further states very circumstantially, that they were driven by a violent storm from east and north-east to a country lying to the south-west, which could not, with any probability, be considered any other than America.

The *Landnama Sagan* (another Islandic record) relates the voyage of '*Jon Biskop*' (John the Bishop) to Vinland, in order to propagate the Christian religion, where he sealed his faith and his zeal by suffering martyrdom. The same pious zeal also induced the first Bishop proper, of Greenland, named Erik, to undertake a similar voyage in the year 1121.

These voyages to Vinland, therefore, continued a long time, although their particulars have not been transmitted. How long they lasted, historians have not related. Sturleson's accounts do not extend them beyond the eleventh century; but by other chroniclers, they can be traced to the twelfth century. An ancient writer, '*Ordericus Vitalis*,'* mentions *Vinland* among the ultra-marine possessions of Norway, towards the close of the eleventh century. Mr. Schroder accounts for this interruption by the political revolution in the north of Europe, and also from the change of climate, increasing the obstructions of the navigation by

* *Histor. Ecclesiast. l. xvi. &c.*

everlasting ice. The colonies of Iceland and Greenland* being neglected by the mother country, could not withstand the hostilities of the North American ‘*Schrælingar*,’ who appeared in great numbers to subsequent adventurers.

Mr. Schroder multiplies authorities and coincidences, proving the identity of Vinland and North America. He refers to an historical record, as deserving particular notice, which is given by ‘*Adamus Bremensis*,’ in ‘*De Situ Danæ*,’ and is cited in *Torfaeus*. With regard to those remains of antiquity, which, says Mr. Schroder, are enveloped in darkness, notwithstanding the researches of Volney, Smith, Barton, and those of the learned societies of New-York, he says, that the monumental remains, or tumuli, as described by the Swedish traveller and naturalist Kalm,† bear a striking resemblance to those of the ancient Scandinavians.

Here we might pause to remark, that if the fortifications, whose ruins we have described under the inquiry respecting the origin of the antiquities of New-York,‡ were indeed erected by these Norrman during their visits and settlements on our coast in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it might justify the conclusion, that the *Alligewi*, whom the ancestors of our present indigines conquered and expelled, who were the reputed authors of these works, who were of a fair complexion, and an extraordinary people, were of a Scandinavian descent.§

Mr. Schroder combats the idea of the Esquimaux being the remains of the Scandinavian colonists. He says there is no historical ground for supposing, as Mallet and Pontoppidan do, that they were; nor, as the great linguist Ol. Rudbeck supposed, that in the language of the American *Virgi-*

* For particulars respecting which, ‘*Schroning’s History of Norway*,’ is frequently referred to.

† See his travels in Pinkerton’s Collections, Vol. XIII.

‡ See *ante* p. 13, 14, &c.

§ See *ante* p. 33–37, &c.

nian* Indians, were to be found affinities with the northern languages of Europe. Besides, continues Mr. Schroder, by late accounts, the Esquimaux resemble in language, bodily shape, and feature, the ‘*Tschuder*’ and ‘*Samojeder*,’ and of course show a direct relationship between the north-eastern tribes of Asia, and those of the north-west of America.†

Although we feel disposed to unite in opinion with Mr. Schröder, Dr. Forster, Dr. Belknap, and others,‡ that our country was discovered by these northern navigators several centuries before Columbus; and further, that New-York might have been a part of ancient Vinland, yet we are not willing to subscribe to another conclusion which Mr. Schröder draws, and which tends to the prejudice of the great modern European discoverer of this continent.

He says, that the report of this beautiful, newly-discovered country spread far and wide throughout the north of Europe, and nothing seems to have prevented it from having, in a confused manner, reached further to the south. The Scandinavians, at an early period, were acquainted with the maritime route to the Mediterranean through ‘*Niorva-sund*,’ (that is, ‘*Gibraltar’s-sund*,’ or Straits of Gibraltar.) According to *Benjamin Tudelensis*, in his ‘*Itinerarium*,’§ Alexandria was

* A general term—See hereafter.

† See *ante* p. 62.

‡ See a confirmation of the above opinion in Forster’s Northern Voyages. Dr. Forster also supposes that in the fourteenth century Vinland was visited by one of the Zenos, in consequence of the report of a fisherman who had been driven there, and who found Latin books, which Dr. F. supposes were a part of the library of Eric, Bishop of Greenland, who went thither in the twelfth century, to convert his countrymen.

See also Belknap’s Amer. Biog. Vol. I. pp. 47—57. 69, 70. 83. 84. on the authority of Pontoppidan’s History of Norway, Crantz’s History of Greenland, and Forster’s Northern Voyages—who further rely upon the Icelandic manuscripts as collected by Thorkeus, Bremen, Arngnim Jonas, and other writers. Dr. Williamson (in Hist. North Carolina) also credits these accounts.—See further the Historical Introduction in Hans Egede’s Description of Greenland.

§ Printed Leyden, 1633.

visited by the Swedes and Danes; and very early commercial relations existed between the cities of the Mediterranean and the Hans Towns of the north. The rumour of the discoveries of the Scandinavians might have therefore reached the Italian cities. To corroborate this inference, Mr. Schröder alludes to the early maps of Andr. Bianco and Fr. Picigano, of the date of 1436, which were found in the library of St. Mark's, in Venice. On these maps are delineated, far away in the Atlantic, and in the latitude of Gibraltar, a large island, "*Antillia*;" and north of it, a smaller island, "*Isola de la Man Satanaxio*;" (which islands, N. Bauche, in the Memoirs of the French National Institute, considers the Azores, not America.) But Mr. Schröder is of opinion, that the authors of those maps in laying down these islands, founded their data upon confused traditions, which, through the commercial relations with the north, had reached Italy.

In reply to this conclusion of Mr. Schröder, if it is designed to tolerate the supposition that the "beautiful country of Vinland" was known to the Italians in the days of Columbus, we would put one question: Is it probable, upon the admission of such a supposition, that they would have rejected the proposals of their countryman, and by compelling him to apply to the court of Spain, thus have voluntarily transferred to a foreign kingdom the glory and advantages which they might have secured to themselves?

Neither is there any reason, as Dr. Belknap justly remarks, (76) to suppose that Columbus had any knowledge of the Norman discoveries; which, long before his time, were forgotten, and would perhaps never have been recollected, if he had not, by the astonishing exertions of his genius, and his persevering industry, effected a discovery of this continent, in a climate more friendly to the views of commercial adventurers.

Even Greenland itself, in the fifteenth century, was known to the Danes and Normans only by the name of *lost* Greenland; and they did not recover their knowledge of it until after the English had ascertained its existence by their voy-

ages to discover a north-west passage to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch had coasted it in pursuit of whales. (77)

§ 28

Having submitted to the scrutinizing judgment of the reader this pretension in behalf of the northern powers of Europe, we will now invite his attention to modern European voyages to our coasts, subsequently to the discovery of Columbus.

His success gave impulse to the ardour of states and individuals. Monarchs now sought dominion, subjects gain. Under the auspices of Henry the Seventh (the era of whose reign became distinguished for the discovery of both the Indies,) (78) the Cabots are said to have explored our coasts five years after Columbus had discovered the West Indies. We have observed, that by virtue of the discoveries of the former, England laid claim to our territory, which, a century afterwards, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, became a part of Virginia; and on the division, by her successor, of the territory now comprising New-England and the Middle and Southern States, into north and south Virginia, this State fell within the limits of the northern, and partly within the southern division: King James having, by his patent, in 1606, to the North and South Companies, dovetailed or lapped the patented rights of both, and, by a policy peculiar to himself, at the same time prohibited either company from settling within one hundred miles of each other.

Disappointed in not having realized the glory and advantages which the proposals that Columbus had made prior to his entering into the service of Isabella might have secured to Henry, had not the messenger of the former been detained by pirates; (79) naturally avaricious, and jealous of the rising greatness of Spain; and hearing in his court this discovery so greatly talked of, "inasmuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human, to saile by the west into the east where spices growe, by a way that was never knowen before;" (80) hearing also of the "mighty

reputation (81) of the Venetian pilot, (John Cabot) who had made a great many voyages in the service of the court of England, or of English merchants, Henry the Seventh recognised the spirit of enthusiastic adventure which had thus been awakened, and amidst the internal tranquillity of his dominions, resolved to give to this spirit an impulse and a direction which should redound to the glory of his reign, and the augmentation of his revenue. Whether he was flattered by the promises made by Cabot, that he would “find out an island endued with rich commodities;” whether the idea of seeking a north-west passage to Cathay and thence to India, prevailed thus early in England,* (as is said by Hakluyt, Salmon, and Forster,†) or whatever particular discovery was in view, Henry undoubtedly expected (as appears from the language of his commission to John Cabot and his sons Sebastian, Lewis, and Sanctius) that his predominant passion for gain would be abundantly gratified.

John Cabot had been a Venetian merchant. He emigrated to England in pursuit of wealth, and subsequently became renowned for his maritime skill. Sebastian, though claimed by some English writers, (82) as a native of Bristol, appears from his own narrative, preserved by Hakluyt, (83) to have been a native of Venice, and in his infancy to have been taken to England by his father, where he resided in Bristol when thus commissioned.

The letters patent, commissioning the Cabots, was dated March 5th, 1495. It authorized them to sail to all countries and seas, to the east, west, or north; (84) “to seeke out, discover and finde whatsoever isles, countreys, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which, before this time, have been unknowen to all Christians; to set up our banners

* But see Vol. I. Pinkerton's Collections, p. 533.—Account of Europ. Settl. in Amer. Vol. II. p. 286.

† And see also Vol. X. N. Am. Rev. p. 133, 9. Vol. IV. ib. 62, 63. Vol. XII. Pinkerton's Collec. 158.

and ensignes in every village, town, castle, isle, or mainland of them newly found. That the said John, and his sonnes, or their heires and assigns, may subdue, occupy and possesse all such towns, cities, castles, and isles, which they can subdue, &c. as our vassals and lieutenants, getting unto us the rule, title, and jurisdiction of the same ; yet, so that they beholden to pay one-fifth of the capital gain or neet profits of all such voyages, and reserve to themselves, in exclusion of other subjects unless by them licensed, the right of visiting such parts which may be discovered.”(85)

It seems that two years elapsed, either in preparation, or from causes not explained by Hakluyt, before the Cabots sailed. In the thirteenth year of Henry's reign, it appears that he granted a license to John Cabot to take five English ships, “in any haven or havens of the realme, being of the burden of 200 tunnes or under, with all necessary furniture,” and take such masters and mariners as were willing to go.

Accordingly, in the beginning of May 1497, John Cabot, who was profoundly skilled in navigation and sciences,* and his son Sebastian, then about 20 years of age, accompanied also, it is suggested, by Sanctius,† set sail from Bristol in one or two ships, with several smaller ones, carrying merchandise, which London merchants had sent out on adventure. On the twenty-fourth of June, they discovered land, which they called *Prima Vista*,‡ “that is, (says Hakluyt) First Seene, because, I suppose, it was that part whereof they had first sight from sea.” This is thought to have been Newfoundland, and it is suggested that he might have gone into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.§ The island, lying out before the land, he called

* Forster's Northern Voyages.

† Hakluyt, vol. III, p. 173, says, Sebastian and Sanctius (the last born in England) were those who discovered Newfoundland, where is a fair haven; still known by the Sanctius haven.

‡ Which is generally supposed to be that part of Newfoundland, now called Bonavista. See vol. X. N. Amer. Rev. p. 139.

§ See Forster's N. Voy. Belk. Amer. Biog. “Cabot.” Prince's Chronological Hist. &c.

the island of St. John, because it was discovered, as Hakluyt supposes, on the day of John the Baptist. Here the natives were found clothed in skins of beasts, and in their "warres, they used bowes and arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings." Having taken three savages on board, the Cabots thence proceeded as far north as sixty-seven and a half degrees, and being impeded by ice, and impelled by the mutiny of their ship master and mariners, they sailed along the coast, till they arrived in the thirty-eighth degree, where, finding their victuals failing, they returned to England.* During this voyage, and among the regions they visited, they found "white beares and stagges, farre greater than ours;" seals, salmons, and abundance of that fish which the savages call "bacealaos." They also saw great plenty of copper among the inhabitants.†

The three savages "from Newfound island," were presented by Cabot to King Henry. They were clothed in beast skins, "eat raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could understand them, and in their demeanour, like to brute beastes." (86) The king kept them some time, and they were seen two years afterwards in Westminster Hall, dressed like Englishmen, but silent.

In memory of this discovery, Sebastian Cabot made a chart of the American coast, with his picture, and an inscription.‡ This map contained a concise account of his discovery of North America.(87) It was hung up in his majesty's private gallery in Whitehall, as a valuable testimonial of the title of the British crown to all North America.(88)

* Hakluyt. Salmon, in Mod. Hist. Vol. XXX. says, Cabot discovered all the north-east coast from Cape *Florida*, in 25 deg. north lat. to 67½. Hakluyt, Vol. III. says in another place, they went down till they found *Cuba* on the left, and thence to England; and in another place, that they sailed along the coast, from 56 deg. of lat. to *Florida*. But query? See Forbes's *Florida*, reviewed, Vol. IV. (n. s.) N. Am. Rev. 62, 63.

† Hakluyt.

‡ With this title: *Effigies Seb. Caboti, filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis aurati, &c.*

After their return, they found great tumult in England, and preparations for war in Scotland, and no further consideration was paid to this voyage. Sebastian, having lost his father, went to Spain, entered the royal service, sailed to Brazil, discovered the Rio de la Plata, (89) and after this, made other voyages, and at length retired from a sea life. He continued high in public fame and private esteem, and lived to receive from the sixth Edward an annuity for life.* His brothers, Lewis and Sanctius, settled in foreign countries, and also obtained eminence and distinction.†

Although English writers, in opposition to those of Holland, maintain that Sebastian Cabot sailed along the coast of New-York, yet the existing accounts, collected by Hakluyt, furnish not the least evidence of such a fact, unless it be in the supposition which they might warrant, that Cabot, on his return from the North American waters to the southern, in about the latitude of Virginia, might have also touched the extreme coast of Long Island. (90)

The spirit of English adventure now slept. Henry was in dispute with the Scotch. Projects of discovery in his time, had in view mines of gold and silver. The Cabots found none among the Indians to gratify the avarice of their royal employer, and he did not choose to expend his treasures for the distant prospect of commercial benefits to his subjects. Jealous, severe, and avaricious, and sinking deeper as he advanced in years in these unpopular vices, until his subjects, weary of his existence, rejoiced at its termination;‡ this monarch made it his sole interest to foster productive commerce amidst foreign war and domestic insurrection; and northern maritime adventure therefore received no further encouragement during his long reign. That period, however, was also

* Viz: "One hundred and three score and five pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence sterling," in the 2d year of Edward's reign, January, 1549. (Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 10.) *Fifty-two* years after his discovery!

† See Forster, Prince, Belknap, Pinkerton's Collections, and Hakluyt.

‡ See Hume, Vol. III. p. 427, 428, 429.

distinguished for the blind submission of crowned heads to the supremacy of the see of Rome. The pope's grant, (91) giving away the new world to Spain and Portugal, four years previously to Cabot's discovery, operated upon the public mind a century afterwards, and might have influenced Henry, under an apprehension on his part, that further northern interference might offend particularly Spain, whose friendship he was solicitous to secure.

§ 29.

In the mean time, the Spaniards and Portuguese pursued the advantages of their discoveries, and while they kept the northern continent in reversion, (though some of their subjects actually visited it,)* they consulted their peculiar character in the immediate objects of their adventurous pursuits. The Spaniard, (92) proud, lazy and magnificent, sought, and eventually found, an ample field for his indulgence ; a soft climate to favour his love of ease, and a profusion of gold and silver to procure him all the luxuries which his pride demanded, but which his indolence denied. The Portuguese, indigent at home, and enterprising, rather than industrious abroad ultimately obtained gold and diamonds as the Spaniard had, wanted them as he did, but possessed them in a more useful though a less ostentatious manner.(93)

It has been said, indeed, that the Spaniards visited the Hudson and St. Lawrence rivers before any other Europeans. Vander Donck† observes, that there are persons who suppose that the Spaniards, many years ago, were in this country, but finding it too cold, they returned, leaving the beans and Turkish wheat, or Indian corn, found here when the Dutch arrived. This, continues Vander Donck, is not pro-

* Viz : Gaspar de Cortelreal, a Portuguese, who explored and named the coast of Labrador in 1500 ; and the Spaniards Velasco in 1506, and Gomez in 1525. See Vol. VI. N. Am. Rev. (n. s.) 49, 50.

† Adrian Vander Donck, " Beschryvinge Van Nieuw-Nederlant," &c Printed Amst. 1656.

bable, nor is it confirmed by the Indians. The beans and corn, they say, were sent to them by the southern Indians, who had obtained the same from the people who lived still south of them. This may be true, for Castillians long since settled in Florida; or perhaps corn may have been cultivated by the Indians earlier in those warm countries. But before its introduction here, the Indians say that they used to eat the bark of trees and roots for bread.

As to the St. Lawrence, it is said, when the Spaniards first discovered the northern region, as they sailed past Cape Ro-siers, at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, the mountains (of Notre Dame) were covered with snow. Such a prospect in the summer season, gave them a very unfavourable opinion of the country, and they were deterred from going up the river, supposing the land too barren to recompense their present labours, or afford any future advantages. The same impressions induced them to call it *Capo di Nada*, or Cape Nothing, by which name it is described in their charts, and whence is derived, by corruption of language, the name of Canada.(94)

It is true that the Spaniards claimed Florida, (which had in early day as extensive and undefined a signification as Virginia afterwards had)* by virtue of a discovery at the commencement of the sixteenth century.(95) Ponce de Leon (or John de Ponce) a wealthy and aged inhabitant of Porto Rico, its first discoverer and governor, went in search of a fountain, (then reported to be in one of the Bahama islands) supposed to possess the marvellous power of restoring youth and vigour to aged persons who should bathe in its waters. Having discovered Florida, and disappointed, of course, in his main object, he resolved to recompense the want of youth by gratifying the avarice of age; and, accordingly, in the year 1513, having obtained the appointment of governor of Florida, he arrived on the coast with a considerable number of men; but a furious attack of the Indians compelled him to flee, with his

* By the charter from Philip II. to Menendez, Florida extended from Newfoundland to the river of Palms, as far as lat. 25 deg. or 22 deg. See its extent, as stated by De Laet and Sanson. See Vol. IV. (n. s.) N. A. Re. p. 74.

remnant of survivors to Cuba. On these adventures, Spain grounded her claim to Florida.

Lucas d'Aillon, (or Luke Vasquez of Aillon) in 1520, went from Hispaniola on a kidnapping voyage, landed at St. Helena in South Carolina, was received hospitably by the natives, and, as a requital, invited a large number on board, and set sail with them. Some pined away, refusing all food. A great many perished in one of the vessels, which foundered, and the residue were forced into slavery. Vasquez went again five years afterwards. One of his ships was cast away; two hundred of his men were cut off by the natives, and he fled, or died, in Florida. Pamphilo de Narvaes, also in 1528, sailed to Florida, with a force of four hundred foot and forty horse. They traversed and conquered the country without much resistance, travelled 280 leagues, built boats, embarked, were shipwrecked, and almost the whole perished by that disaster and subsequent famine. Afterwards, and about the time when St. Lawrence was discovered by the French, Sotos' celebrated and disastrous expedition was made to the Mississippi, as will be mentioned hereafter.*

The exterminating cruelty of the Spaniards towards the South Americans made a deep and wide-spread impression. No wonder any attempt in North America should be repelled (as it had been unsuccessfully in the south,) with indignation and fury. The Spaniards sought gold and slaves. The natives, while living, were sometimes thrown to the dogs to be devoured; millions were butchered, and thousands reduced to slavery, or forced to the mines.† Spain is now suffering the vengeance which her national crimes merited. Since her discoveries she has been on the decline. The very gold that enriched her became the means of her impoverishment, because it unnerved her industry. Reduced from the proud eminence

* See Forbe's Floridas, reviewed, V ol. IV. (n. s.) N. Am. Rev. p. 63, &c. Williamson's North Carolina, Vol. I, p. 12, 14.

† See Pinkerton's Collections. The subversion of the empire of the Incas; the fate of Montezuma, &c. and all the sickening horrors which Peru, Chili, and Mexico have witnessed.

she once enjoyed, to a secondary and degraded rank in the balance of Europe, she is a living lesson to the world, not only in national morals, but political economy ; which proves that with nations as well as individuals “prosperous vice is but triumphant woe ;” that what is gained without labour, may be squandered without regret ; and that productive industry alone constitutes the solid wealth of a nation ; the only certain means of augmenting its population, and securing a durable prosperity. It has been well remarked, “that it is as natural for a people to flock into a busy and wealthy country, where employment is had, and which, by any accident, may be thinly populated, as it is for the dense air to rush into those parts where it is rarified.”(96) But Spain, now stripped of the very mines that supplied her with gold, (unlike England and Holland amidst their freedom and industry) pursued a policy which has reduced her numbers, unnerved her people, plunged them into political despotism and religious intolerance, and paved the way, perhaps, for the extinction of her national existence.

§ 30.

While the subjects of Spain thus made ineffectual efforts to colonise and explore North America, Henry the Eighth of England, and Francis First of France, arose to question the infallibility, and deny the unlimited supremacy of the Pope. The former defied, and the latter disregarded, the monstrous usurpation of the papal see, who dared not only to fetter the conscience, but, in imitation of his Satanic majesty, to dispose of kingdoms and worlds. Although Henry, denying the right of the partition of the new world between Spain and Portugal, sent two ships, it is said, in 1527, (four years after Francis despatched Varrazano) to make discoveries, one of which was cast away on Newfoundland, and the other arrived at St. John's Bay ;(97) yet he was too much engrossed in the gratification of his passions, to lay the foundation of transatlantic empires. Neither did Edward and Mary attend much to foreign objects. But Francis I. who is denominated by the historiographer of France, (Sieur de Mezeray) the Great

King, the father and restorer of learning and liberal sciences, clement in peace and victorious in war, was as ready as his contemporary, Henry the Eighth, to question the Pope's grant and partition. In reply to the Spanish and Portuguese pretension, he said (98) he should be very glad to see the clause in Adam's will, which made this continent their inheritance exclusively.

He was one of the most active, but ambitious and headstrong, princes of his age ;* and although, during his long reign,† he was involved in war and misfortunes, he was determined not to overlook the commercial interest of his people, by suffering Spain, Portugal, or England, to appropriate to themselves all the advantages of the great discovery. Under the patronage of this king, sailed John de Varrazano and James Cartier.‡

§ 31.

A correct knowledge of the voyage of Varrazano, made twenty-seven years after that of Cabot, becomes important, inasmuch as he is supposed by some to have been the first discoverer of the bay of New-York and river Hudson. By virtue of this and subsequent French discoveries, France claimed a considerable part of this continent, and Henry the IV. in 1603 gave to *des Monts* all the American lands from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude ; a grant which included this State, but which James I. of England disregarded in 1606, when he created by patent the North and South Virginia Companies.§

* See Somerville's Letters on France, reviewed, Vol. X, (n. s.) N. Am. Rev. 50, 52.

† Commencing in 1515, and ending by his death in 1547. (Mezeray's France.)

‡ Or Giovanni de Verazzani, (as his Italian name has been rendered) and Jacques Cartier, sometimes Quartier, (as his French name is given.)

§ See both Charters, in Hazard's Collections, Vol. I, p. 46, 51, and appended to Stith's Virginia. Williamsburg, 1747.

In 1523, Francis, having thus determined to excite the emulation of his subjects in commerce, as he had in science and the fine arts, ordered Varrazano to set sail with four vessels for the discovery of that country, of which so much was spoken at the time in France. The account of the first voyage is not preserved. Historians give no particulars. Varrazano, in his letter addressed to his majesty, detailing the discoveries we shall presently mention, dated Dieppe, July 8, 1524, presupposes that the king had previously been informed of this first voyage. It seems that Varrazano, with his four ships, had encountered storms in the north, been driven with two ships, the Norman and Dolphin, to land in Britain, whence he determined, in the latter vessel, to prosecute the discoveries already began. According to this letter, (which is preserved by Ramusio* and Hakluyt,†) having proceeded to Madeira with fifty men, and provisions for eight months, he departed on the 17th day of January, 1524, from the rocks (the *Deserters*) east of Madeira, and proceeded westwardly. After encountering a tempest, which put him in imminent danger of shipwreck, he found himself near a low country. He approached it within a quarter of a league, and from the fires along the coast, concluded that it was thickly peopled. Turning to the south fifty leagues, without finding a harbour, and perceiving the land ranging still southwardly, he retraced his course, and arrived in latitude 34°, (near Wilmington, North Carolina.) Here the ship was anchored off the coast. "Great store of people (says Varrazano) came to the sea side, and seeing us approach, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and looke backe, beholding us with great admiration; but afterwards, being animated and assured, with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the sea side, seeming to rejoyce very much, at the sight of us, and marvelling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse; shewed us by sundry

* In his Great Collections.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, &c. Vol. II. p. 295, 300. Lond. 1600. Also in vol. L. N. Y. Hist. Collec. p. 45, 60.

signes where we might most commodiously come a land with our boate, offering us also of their victuals to eat." Encouraged by this kind welcome, our adventurers made a "short abode" on shore, taking note of the peculiarities of the natives and of the country.

It is difficult to determine the southern latitude which he had reached.* In consequence of his describing the coast as full of *palm trees*, it has been conjectured† that he sailed as far as the southern part of Georgia, to the north of which the region of palm trees is not found.

Having concluded his short visit in the latitude to which he had retrograded, he resumed his northern course. After coasting some time without perceiving any harbour by which he could enter, he was compelled for the sake of fresh water, to send off his boat. The shore was lined with savages, whose countenances betrayed at the same time the effects of surprise, admiration, joy, and fear. But, "making signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland,"‡ twenty-five men with presents were dispatched with the boat; but it could not, in consequence of the roughness of the waves and surge, approach the beach without danger, or the men in it dared not advance towards the savages. One sailor, however, bolder than his comrades, seizing a few of the articles designed as presents, plunged into the water, and advanced within three or four yards of the shore, when the appearance of the savage array striking him with panic, he suddenly threw to them the presents, hastened about, and struggled to regain the boat: but a heavy sea now rushed towards the shore, and dashed him full length almost dead upon the beach. His

* Lescarbot says he discovered the country from 30 to 40 degrees N. latitude. Dr. Williamson (Hist. N. Caro. Vol. I. p. 15.) says he touched the continent at 30th deg. and called the country Mocosa, taking possession of it in the name of the king of France, and left it near the 50th degree. But neither of these cite any authority.

† By Dr. Miller, in Discourse, &c. Vol. I.—N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 23, 24

‡ Observes Varrazano.

strength was so much exhausted that he could not maintain any foot-hold, and the next return of the waves would have carried him off, had not the savages, seeing his deplorable condition, ran to his assistance, and caught him in their arms. Shortly recovering his senses, he was greatly frightened, and began to cry with all his might. The savages, in order to comfort him, cried still louder, and ran about to cheer him, and to give him courage. They finally seated him at the foot of a little hill, and turned his face towards the sun. Then having lighted a large fire near him, they stripped him entirely naked. He could then no longer doubt but that their intention was to roast him and eat him.* Those on board thought so too, and while they intensely watched all this management, they could sigh only for the fate of the victim. But the poor sailor began to hope that his life might be spared when he saw them dry his clothes, and only carry him near enough to the fire to warm him. In truth, he trembled in every part of his body, but more from fear than cold. The savages on their part testified their kindness by caresses, which half restored his confidence. They could not cease admiring the whiteness of his skin.† Finally, they restored to him his clothes. After recovering his strength, and staying with them a while, he began to manifest great impatience to rejoin his companions. Accordingly, these guileless people conducted him to the shore, held him some time in a close embrace, “with great love clapping him fast about,” in order to evince

* Or sacrifice him to the sun—as Charlevoix (in *Nouvelle France*, &c.) has rendered it. But this appears to be a gratuitous conjecture of his own.

† And also, as Charlevoix says, “his *beard* and spots (*poil*) that they saw on his body, where they had none themselves, which astonished them still more.” This is another gratuitous assertion of Charlevoix, not found in Varrazano’s Letter. As to the declaration of writers, that the natives have no beards, we think we shall show (in our aboriginal history) this to be a mistake which has arisen from the circumstance of Indians appearing to have none, but which is consequential of their practice from early youth of plucking it out from the roots.

their regret at parting, and to show that they had nothing equivocal or sinister in view. They then retired to a little distance, leaving him at liberty ; and when they saw him swimming, they mounted on a little eminence, from which they kept their eyes fixed upon him until he reached the boat, and returned to the ship.*

Departing thence, Varrazano followed the shore fifty leagues and anchored. Twenty men in the boat went ashore : entered the country six miles, and found that the people had fled to the woods affrighted. " They saw only one old woman, with a young maid of 18 or 20 yeeres old, which seeing our company (says Varrazano) hid themselves in the grasse for feare ; the olde woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of eight yeeres old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many ; but when our men came unto them, the women cried out ; the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde into the woods. As soone as they saw us to quiet them, and to win their favour, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the olde woman received thankfully, but the young woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They took a child from the olde woman to bring into France ; and going about to take the young woman, which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea ; and especially having great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child onely."

After remaining three days in this country, and riding on the coast for want of harbours, they pursued their route.

Previously to their arrival at the place which we shall presently describe, they had coasted along shore between a northern and eastern direction one hundred leagues, without making a harbour, when they arrived at a very pleasant place, situat-

* See Varrazano's Letter in Hackluyt. and N. Y. Hist. Coll. ib.

ed among certain little steep hills, from amidst which "there ranne downe into the sea an exceeding great streame of water, which, within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the mouth of the same, with the tide, which they found to rise 8 foote, any great ship laden might passe up."* Here they rode safely at anchor, and sent up their boat. The natives expressing their admiration, and showing them where they might come safely to land with their boat, they entered up the river half a league, "where it made a most pleasant lake,† about three leagues in compasse, on which they (the natives) rowed from one side to the other to the number of thirty of their small boats, wherein weere many people, which passed from one shore to the other to come and see them." A sudden rise of wind compelled them to return to the vessel and put to sea. Here possibly they might have touched at Sandy Hook, and taken the bay within it for a lake. Thence, weighing anchor, they "*sayled toward the east, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for fifty leagues being in the sight thereof, they discovered an island in forme of a triangle, distant from the main land ten leagues, about the bignesse of the island of Rhodes; it was full of hills, covered with trees, well peopled, for they saw fires all along the coast; they gave it the name of his majesty's (Francis Ist.) mother, but not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.*"

Here perhaps they may have coasted Long Island, until they reached Block Island, Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard. There is certainly no such triangular island ten leagues from the entrance of Sandy Hook; and the described direction which they took renders their entry into New-York bay and river at this juncture altogether improbable, as will be insisted upon more at large hereafter.

From this island they came to another land fifteen leagues distant, where they met the "goodliest people, and of the fair-

* Varrazano.

† The Scandinavians also speak of a lake in their visits to these coasts. See *ante*, p. 114, 116.

est conditions that they had found in their voyage : exceeding us in bigness—of the colour of brasse, some inclining to whitenesse, black and quick eyed, of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion.” Among them they saw many pieces of wrought copper, which were esteemed more than gold, which for the colour the natives made no account of. Among the presents that were given to them, bells, crystal of azure colour, and other toys to hang at their ears or about their necks, were most esteemed by them. They did not desire cloth of silk or of gold or other sort, neither did they care for things made of steel or iron, “ which we often shewed them (continues Varrazano) in our armour, which they made no wonder at ; and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them ; the like they did at our glasses, which, when they beheld, they suddenly laught, and gave them us again.” They were very liberal in giving what they had. They and their visiters became great friends. One day the latter entered the haven with their ship, having before rode a league off at sea by reason of contrary wind. Here the natives visited them in great numbers, and showed by signs where they might safely ride in the haven. “ After we were come to an anker, (Varrazano continues) we bestowed fifteen dayes in providing ourselves many necessary things, whither every day the people repaired to see our ship, bringing their wives with them, whereof they were very jelous ; and they themselves entring a board the ship, and staying there a good space, caused their wives to stay in their boats ; and for all the entreatie we could make, offring to give them divers things, we could never obtaine that they would suffer them to come aboarde our ship. Oftentimes one of the two kings (of these people) comming with his queene and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see us, they all stayed on shore two hundred paces from us till they sent a message that they were coming. The queene and her maids staid in a very light boat at an island a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in the ship, uttering divers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration the shippe, demanding the property

of every thing particularly." Sometimes the sailors staid two or three days on a little island near the ship, for necessaries. They were often five or six leagues within the land, which they found pleasant, and adapted for any husbandry of corn, wine, or oil. *There were plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in breadth, which were open,* and without any impediment. They entered the woods, and found them "so great and thicke that any army, were it never so great, might have hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are oaks, cipresse trees, and other sortes unknowen in Europe." They found "*Pome appel, damson trees and nut trees, and other sorts of fruit,*" differing from those of their own country. The natives fed upon pulse "that grew in the country with better order of husbandry than in the others. They observed in their sowing the course of the moone, and the rising of certaine starres, and divers other customs spoken of by antiquity. They dwell together in great numbers, some twenty-five or thirty persons in one house. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their adversitie, and in their miserie, the kinred reckon up all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they use mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space."

This harbour, where Varrazano found these kind people, and where he remained more than two weeks, is thus described by him: "This land is situate in the paralele of Rome in 41 degrees and 2 terces, but somewhat more cold by accidentall causes and not of nature. The *mouth of the haven* lieth open to the south halfe a league broad, and *being entred* within it betweene the east and the north, it stretcheth twelve leagues, *where it wareth broader and broader, and maketh a gulf,* about *twenty leagues* in compasse, wherein are *five small islands*, very fruitful and pleasant, full of hie and broad trees, *among the which islandes* any great navie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. *Afterwards turning towards the south,* in the entring into the haven, on both sides there are most pleasant hils, *with many rivers* of most cleare water *falling into the sea.* In the middest of this entrance, there is a

rocke of free stone, growing by nature, apt to build any castle or fortresse there for the keeping of the haven."

Dr. Belknap says, that the harbour which Varrazano entered, "by his description, must be that of New-York."* Other writers have intimated a similar conclusion, without, however, pretending to examine the subject.† Dr. Miller,‡ (in his discourse designed to commemorate the discovery of New-York by Henry Hudson) observes: "If we suppose *Staten* Island and *Manhattan* Island to be included in the number *five*, of which he (Varrazano) speaks, and also the whole of the waters in which these islands are embosomed, to belong to the 'gulf,' which he represents as 'twenty leagues in compass,' the description will be found a tolerably accurate one, and to apply with more probability to the harbour of *New-York* than any other."

But surely *Staten* and *Manhattan* islands cannot fall within the description of *small* ones, of which Varrazano speaks. Besides, *Manhattan* Island is, to all appearance, so much a part of the mainland, that it would hardly have been discovered as an island, especially when it was "full of hie and broad trees;" neither could he have mistaken our east and north rivers, running parallel with that island, for a gulf "twenty leagues in compass," the entrance into which, in the progress of its *disembogation*, "grew broader and broader." Neither would the topography of the surrounding regions authorise us to say, that there were at that time "plains, twenty-five or thirty leagues, broad, open, and without any impediment;" and still more conclusive, there is no triangular island, (as described by Varrazano) ten or fifteen leagues off the entrance at *Sandy Hook*, or the *Narrows*. "The mouth of the haven" here, is more than half a league broad. The distance from *Sandy Hook* to *New-York Bay* is not "twelve leagues." It

* Amer. Biog. vol. I. p. 33.

† Professor Ebeling. Dr. Barton.

‡ Discourse, 1809, before Hist. Soc., by Samuel Miller, D. D. Vol. I. N. Y. H. C. p. 24.

does not "wear broader and broader, making a gulf twenty leagues in circumference;" neither, retrograding south, are "there many rivers falling into the sea."

We believe, that although Varrazano may have touched at Sandy Hook, coasted Long Island, and visited some one of our former islands in its north-eastern vicinity, and in the latitude mentioned by him, yet he never entered our bay or river. It appears to us, that his description may apply with tolerable precision to Newport, in Rhode Island. There are the small islands, the gulf, the safe mooring for a navy, the outlets to the sea of many rivers, whether we include those of Taunton, Lees, Coles, Palmer's and Seakonk or Pawtucket, emptying into the gulf or sea, or the east passage, and other outlets to the ocean.

Having left this place in May, Varrazano says, in the conclusion of his northern voyage, that he visited the land in times past, discovered by the Britains, in the 50th degree. This was Newfoundland.* Having thus coasted 700 leagues of new country, and being refitted with water and wood, he returned to France, and arrived at Dieppe in July, whence he addressed his letter to the king. A short time after his return to France, he fitted out a new armament. All we know of this voyage (says Charlevoix) is, that he never has been heard of.† A report has been published,‡ that Varrazano, having set foot in a strait, where he wanted to erect a fort, the savages fell upon him and his people, massacred and eat them. Ramusio says this was in sight of the rest of the crew, who had remained on board the ship, and were unable to rescue their companions.§

* The degree is given pursuant to his letter, though it has been elsewhere stated that he attained the 56th degree, about the coast of Labrador, and gave the country the name of New France. See Dr. Miller's *Disc.* Vol. I. N.Y. H. Coll. p. 26, and Belk. *Am. Biog.* Vol. I, p. 159, cited.

† Charlevoix. *Hist. Nouv. Fr.*

‡ In "les Fastes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau monde." sous l'annee, 1525. Charlevoix does not credit the report.

§ IN. Y. Hist. Coll. 27. Forster's *North. Voyages*, 436 cited.

In the only voyage of his, of which we have an authentic account, we dwell with most pleasure upon the characteristic simplicity, friendship, and humanity of the natives. We have detailed these instances in their favour, because they occurred at a period, when the warm native fountain of good feeling and disinterested charity, had not been frozen by the chilly approach and death-like contact of civilized man. We have dwelt upon these incidents as the most interesting portion of Varrazano's adventures. They present human nature in an amiable point of view, when unsophisticated by metaphysical subtlety, undisguised by art, or, even when unadorned by the refinements, the pageantry, the pride and circumstance of civilization. They illustrate the position, which we believe is true, that the natives of this continent, before they had been exasperated by the encroachments and provocations of Europeans, when the former were confiding, and unsuspecting, without any foresight of the terrible disasters which their interviews with the latter were destined to become the tragical prelude, entertained uniform feelings of kindness, of hospitality, and of benevolence.

When the Scandinavians came to our coasts, they were cordially welcomed, until their own aggressions provoked an interminable hostility.* When Columbus visited the new world, the natives viewed him as a supernatural being, and treated him with the veneration, inseparable from a delusion, which Colon was willing to countenance. When Vespucius Americus landed, he also was treated as a superior being. When the Cabots coasted this continent, when Cartier first visited the St. Lawrence, when the French first settled in Florida as friends, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and after him the Captain employed by Sir Walter Raleigh, first landed in Virginia, when Hudson discovered and explored our bay and river, when the pilgrims colonized New-England, the generous reception which they all met from the natives, should stand a

* See *ante*, p. 117.

monumental rebuke to the shameful prejudices too prevalent among ourselves, since we supplanted their descendants on the soil which their fathers left them as a patrimony. We will cite proofs of two instances which took place thirty-seven years apart, but which are given as a general illustration of our position. In the first report of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition, it is said by his captain, and those in the employ, in 1584, that they were entertained with as much bounty as they could possibly devise. They found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age.*

The second proof may be found in the prefatory remarks to the first sermon ever preached in New-England. It bears date not long after the landing of the pilgrims, (viz. Dec. 1621) and was made by one of them.† Speaking of the Indians, he says: "To us they have been like lambs, so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may truly say many Christians are not so kind and sincere. When we first came into this country, we were few, and many of us were sick, and many died by reason of the cold and wet, it being the depth of winter, and we having no houses nor shelter, yet, when there were not six able persons among us, and that they came daily to us by hundreds with their sachems or kings, and might, in one hour, have made a despatch of us, &c. yet they never offered us the least injury. The greatest commander of the country, called Massasoit, cometh often to visit us, though he lives fifty miles from us, often sends us presents," &c.

Similar proofs might be multiplied, and it might also be shown that the cruelty of the natives towards the white visitors, when traced, will be discovered, in almost every case, to have been provoked by oppression or aggression. It is true, that Varrazano, in his letter,‡ speaks of the natives in the

* See Hakluyt.

† Printed in England 1622, reprinted in Boston 1815.

‡ See vol. I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 58, 59.

northern regions, as disinclined to any intercourse, or amicable traffic. "They would come to the sea shore upon certaine craggy rocks, and we, standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approach to the land, demanding immediately the exchange; and when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent. We were, in despiight of them, two or three leagues within the land, being twenty-five armed men of us: And when we went on shore, they shot at us with their bowes, making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods." But the fact is, they had known or heard of the visits of white people before. The Spaniards are said to have early explored the northern regions. "Wherever they moved in anger (says Kotzebue) desolation tracked their progress,—wherever they paused in amity, affliction mourned their friendship."* The French also had early engaged in the cod-fishery on the grand banks, and, with the people of other nations, erected houses at Newfoundland as early, it is said, as 1518.† But earlier still, it will be remembered, that the Cabots had been there; and although they were treated in a very different manner from Varrazano, yet the two savages whom they took to the court of Henry the VII. were probably never returned to their kindred and friends, as they unquestionably had been promised. Forster‡ ascribes the inveteracy of the Esquimaux to the previous kidnapping of some of their countrymen. We have seen, even when Varrazano was on the coast of Maryland, how deaf to the agonies of bereaved parents the whites could be. From causes like these, arose, no doubt, the unsocial hostility of the northern natives, to which may be reasonably attributed the subsequent fate of

* Pizarro, in Peru.

† *Anti-Colonial Hist.* Vol. VI. *N. Am. Rev.* p. 46. (n. 3.)

‡ *Northern Voyages.*

Varrazano, and perhaps that of Hudson, whose tragical story will be related hereafter.

In other parts of the continent, when we scrutinize the conduct of the whites, we shall find they early treated the natives as beings destitute of those feelings, which the God of nature has implanted in the breast of man, which revolt at aggravated injustice, and which, therefore, could never submit quietly to those systems of fraud, wanton attack, kidnapping, and murder, that disgraced the first visits and conquests upon this continent, and induced, by degrees, that deep-toned hatred, which subsequently distinguished the natives as barbarians.

§ 32.

The unhappy fate of Varrazano was the cause, that during many years neither the king or nation thought any more of America. At length, ten years afterwards, Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, by representing the advantages and policy of giving encouragement and protection to their northern fishery and fur trade, induced Francis to undertake the establishment of a French colony in the New World, whence the Spaniards derived so great wealth. He introduced James Cartier to the king as worthy of his trust and patronage. Accordingly he was commissioned and set sail from St. Malo with two vessels, sixty tons each, on the 20th April, 1534, with one hundred and twenty-two men. (99) He proceeded further than Varrazano. After arriving at Bonavista, he coasted Newfoundland, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the Strait of Bellisle, found its harbours cold and inhospitable, passed over to the south-westerly side of the Gulf, and discovered *Baye de Chaleur*, so named by him from its contrast with those he had visited. Having thus discovered and named this bay, as well as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he proceeded northwardly, and discovered the river of that name. (100) When Cartier landed in Canada, the natives evinced every expression of joy and friendly welcome. At one time three hundred men, women, and children, “came

to us, (says Cartier,*) very friendly, rubbing our arms with their own hands, then would they lift them up toward heaven, showing many signs of gladness; and in such wise were we assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to traffic, of whatsoever they had, till they had nothing but their naked bodies, for they gave us all whatsoever they had, and that even of but small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our religion."

So confiding were these primitively simple and unsuspecting people, that one of their chiefs suffered Cartier to take two of his sons to France.†

Next year, (1535) with an equipment of three ships, and accompanied by several young men of distinction, who had entered as volunteers, he returned, discovered the great river of Canada, sailed to the island of *Hochelaga*, the capital of the whole country, which he named Montreal,‡ wintered in a little harbour near the west end of the Isle of Orleans, which he called Port de St. Croix, and returned next summer, carrying home some of the natives.§

Cartier during this visit, again met people throughout the country equally inclined to friendly intercourse. At St. Croix in the island of Orleans he was received by an Indian King by the name of *Donnacana*, and his little *Ogouhana*, with all the pomp of royalty peculiar and suitable to the state of a savage chief.|| At Hochelaga "all the women and the mai-

* See "A shorte and briefe narration of the two navigations and discoveries to the north-west parts, called New France. First translated out of French into Italian by Ramutius, and Englished by John Florio, 1580—and Remarks on Indians, in a letter to Edinburgh Reviewers, published London, 1822.

† Vol. I. Belknap's American Biography, p. 162-3.

‡ Hakluyt. See Belknap, Vol. I. p. 170.

§ Hakluyt, Vol. III. See Belknap, Vol. I. p. 162, 177, 179, (among the natives whom he took to France were the two young Indians, who went with him on his first return, and now *Donnacana* also. They were never brought back from France.

|| See Sullivan's District of Maine, and authorities cited by him. Williams's History of Vermont, Vol. I. p. 252. Vol. I. Belknap's American Biography, p. 165-7, 173.

dens (says Cartier,*) gathered together, part of which had their arms full of young children, and as many as could come to rub our faces, our arms, and what part of the body they could touch, showing us the best countenance that possibly was, desiring us with their signs, that it would please us to touch their children."

In 1540 he made a third voyage, built a fort, and began a settlement the next year four leagues above St. Croix, and the year after broke up and sailed to Newfoundland. Roverval met Cartier, proceeded up the St. Lawrence four leagues above the island of Orleans, built, wintered, and also returned the next year with his colony.†

Thus the St. Lawrence was discovered (1535) by the French‡ seventy-four years before the discovery of Lake Champlain and Hudson river.§ This river, which receives its chief supply of water from the great lakes, and connected with Ontario, forms the north-western boundary of our State, rises from lake Nipissin, north-east of lake Superior, about 2000 miles from Quebec, is 90 miles broad at its entrance, and navigable 500 miles, and more from the sea. Hochelega, where the city of Montreal (formerly Ville Marie,||) now stands, was owned by our Iroquois Confederacy when the French settled in Canada, at the commencement of the seventeenth century. If these were the people whom Cartier met, how changed their character and condition. This is not the place to explain the causes of this change. If Hochelega was arrested from these native proprietors, Montreal has suffered a terrible retribution. For it will appear that the Iroquois subsequently made a ferocious irruption into this island, sacked, ravaged, burned, massacred, and inflicted a shock upon Canada, from which she

* "A short and brief narration," &c. ib. And see Belknap, Vol. I. p. 179, 170 and 182.

† Hakluyt. See Belknap, Vol. I. p. 178, &c.

‡ See *ante* p. 130, as to the Spanish claim to prior discovery.

§ See hereafter.

|| Long's Voyages and Travels p. 2. Spafford's Gazetteer of New-York, *art.* St. Lawrence.

recovered not for a long time. After all, where is the people whose mild and hospitable character would not be irritated into frenzy on beholding the obtrusive settlement and violent dispossession of their country by foreigners; on beholding the pathway of strangers over the graves of their fathers; the encroachment of men of different complexion, language, and manners, proudly disdaining to intermix, too scornful to meet on terms of equality, and arrogantly demanding a soil to which they were aliens! Where is the people who under such circumstances would not meet their invaders and spoilers with the instruments of death in one hand, and a fire-brand in the other; swear, with Warsaw's last champion, by the dread name of their country, "for her to live, and with her to die;" and "if forced to retire before superior discipline, dispute every inch of ground, raze every house, burn every blade of grass, and make the last entrenchment of liberty their grave!" (101)

Almost simultaneous with the discovery of the St. Lawrence, was that of the Mississippi. Four years after the former, viz. 1539, the Spaniards under Ferdinand de Soto sailed from Cuba in quest of gold, landed at Florida with six hundred men and two hundred horses, traversed the country nearly fourteen hundred miles from the sea, discovered the Mississippi twelve hundred miles from the mouth of it, built brigantines, and sailed down the river, after spending three years. Soto having died upon the Red river in 1542, the remnant of his broken army escaped the year after from the Mississippi to Cuba. (102)

§ 33.

Gold and the labour of the enslaved natives being the incentives to Spanish adventure, no attempt was renewed upon North America until the controversy in France, between the Huguenots and Catholics, precipitated a French settlement in Florida (afterwards Virginia,) and roused the Spaniards to new acts of atrocity. Their cruelty to the natives having operated to defeat every attempt to settle among them, their predominant passion for gold had drawn their attention elsewhere.

In France during the succeeding reigns of Henry the second and Francis the second, nothing more appears to have been done towards North America. The civil wars that with little intermission harassed and divided that kingdom, from Henry the second to Lewis the fourteenth, diverted both prince and people from their commercial interests, to those of parties in religion and government. (103) The politics of the house of Valois, (though France was perhaps never governed by princes of so ingenious and refined a turn,) were wholly of a machiavillian kind. They tended to distract, to unsettle, to try dangerous schemes, and to raise storms only to display skill in directing them. The parties then in France solely contended what power should be conceded to, or extorted from the king, without considering the means by which their country might be made a great kingdom. Therefore, which way soever the balance inclined, whether to the king or to the nobles, to the catholics or to the protestants, it was immaterial to the real happiness of that nation. The parties only gamed out of a common stock, neither could be enriched. But their dissensions made all of them poor and weak, nor until the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the time of Cardinal Richlieu, can we designate the true era of French policy. (104)

It was amidst these dissensions, and during the successorship to Francis the second in the reign of Charles the ninth,* that Admiral Coligna, (105) the celebrated leader of the protestants, a great commander, an able statesman, and too comprehensive in his views not to see the advantages of a settlement in America, turned to this country as an asylum in case of necessity for a persecuted sect. He procured two vessels to be fitted out for discoveries upon the coast of Florida, which in two months arrived near the river Albemarle. The hatred of the Indians to the Spaniards secured the French a friendly reception, and in 1564 the Admiral fitted out five or six ships with as many hundred men to begin a colony. They accord-

* Who commenced king anno 1560. Mezeray.

ingly built fort Charles, and called the whole country Carolina. The Spaniards afterwards attacked this colony, and put nearly the whole to the sword; others they hung, and put up this inscription, "*They were hung as Lutherans, not as Frenchmen.*" They committed also great outrages upon the natives, and by this unprovoked cruelty prepared themselves for the vengeance that soon followed. For though the Admiral and his party were destroyed in the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew, and though the design of colonising, died with him; yet M. de Guerges, (106) a private gentleman, fitted out four ships purely to revenge the murder of his countrymen and friends. The Indians eagerly joined them in the siege of the Spanish forts, which they took, and put the garrison to the sword, hanging fifteen, and setting up this inscription, "*They were hung as traitors, robbers, and murderers, not as Spaniards or mariners.*" Satisfied with the action, the adventurers returned, and happily for the English, the French court, blinded by their bigotry, did not understand the advantages which might have been derived from giving America to the protestants, as the English afterwards did to the dissenters as a place of refuge. Had they taken this step, the English would have made no settlements, or if any, small in extent and precarious in tenure.*

The twenty-two years' succeeding reign of Henry III. of France† passed away, during which France did not undertake any more North American voyages for ultramarine settlement.

* Thus Carolina was the first of these United States that had been colonized either by Spaniards, French, or English, yet it remained unsettled till the reign of Charles II. (1663) *Acct. Europ. Sett. in America*, Vol. II. Williamson's *North Carolina*, Vol. I.

† Who succeeded Charles IX. and reigned from 1574 to 1589, when Henry IV. ascended the throne.—*Mezeray*.

§ 34.

The causes why a century elapsed after the discovery of the Cabots, before any plan of colonization proved successful in North America, may be found in the agitated state of Europe at the commencement and during the progress of the Reformation;* the operation upon the public mind of the Pope's grant; the superior golden attractions of South America and the East Indies; the peculiar dispositions and policy of kings, and the aversion of subjects to exchange the certain comforts of civilization for the difficulties of a wilderness.

But a secret cause was in slow operation, more powerful than gold or the gains of commerce, which was to colonize America. It was religious persecution, engendered by religious fanaticism. This, combined with the prior impulse which was to be given to maritime adventure by three illustrious contemporaries, Henry IV. of France, Queen Elizabeth of England, and Prince Maurice of Holland, at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century was to produce a simultaneous effect, which was to secure, as it did secure, the permanent settlement of North America.

At that era the people of Europe were unacquainted with those artificial wants which the subsequent influx of wealth and of luxury superinduced upon their simplicity of manners. The means of comfortable subsistence were within the range of ordinary industry, and few comparatively felt an inclination to brave the dangers of the seas, and submit to the incidental privations of an uncultivated and distant region, merely for the prospect of acquiring wealth. Men thus situated must be goaded by a keen sense of intolerable oppression, to feel an inducement to bid adieu to the home of their birth, and seek quiet in the barbarous wilds of a new world. If it happen now and then that some signal tyranny, "the vio-

* See Robertson's Charles V.

lation of Lucretia, the death of Virginia, the oppression of Tell," excite discontent and rouse to mutiny; if men thus exasperated, prefer even to incur the dangers of an open civil war, rather than quit their distracted country for a distant land of tranquillity; how powerful must be the excitement, imperious the necessity, or seductive the inducement, that could prevail upon them, at other times, to abandon for ever the charities of kindred and home, the pleasures of long cultivated friendship; the customs, the institutions, the very errors of their country; and those numerous memorials around which their prejudices and prepossessions had been accustomed to rally and to linger! Even in modern days, where is the emigrant or the exile, whether induced by interest or forced by oppression, to leave the land of his forefathers, who does not look back to the seats of his youth with an inextinguishable attachment? If an Englishman, he will still exclaim with Cowper: (107)

England, with all thy faults, I love thee still—
My country!

If he came from the

Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
The land of mountain and of flood, (108)
So famed for song and beauty's charms;
So patient in toil, serene amidst alarms,
Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms; (109)

he will remember with melancholy pleasure the periods when he deemed the tie that bound him to the land of his nativity as indissoluble as that which Sir Walter Scott (110) seems to predict will rivet him for life, when, in this beautiful apostrophe, he exclaims—

O Caledonia! stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child;
Land of my sires, what mortal hand
Can e'er untie the filial band
That knits me to thy rugged strand!

Or if an Irishman, he will still lament over the miseries of his devoted country, and recall with cherishing fondness the variegated endearments associated with his early recollections of the green Emerald Isle. (111)

Such is the strong impulse of feeling which constitutes the love of country, that it requires a combination of extraordinary circumstances, in order to bring about the colonization of a country situated as ours was at the period before mentioned. But enthusiasm is the parent of great results; and in what cause soever it be enlisted, whether in that of error or of truth; in war, in politics, in religion, or the transactions of social life, the most signal consequences follow. Hence that bigotry which was excited by the collision of religious opinions in Europe; and that fanaticism which had depopulated America at the south, were destined eventually to repeople it in the north.* Although the religious wars that disturbed England and France did not have an immediate effect upon the first settlement of our State, yet at later periods they had; and it will hereafter appear that some of our most distinguished patriots (for instance the venerable John Jay) were descendants of emigrants who had been persecuted in their native land; that the very pilgrims, the founders of New-England, (who were the ancestors also of many of the citizens of our State) having been driven from their country and taken refuge in Holland, the common asylum of political and religious liberty at that time, removed to Leyden during the year in which Hudson discovered our river, and afterwards embarked for the purpose of settling upon its banks, but from certain causes, which will be hereafter unfolded, were diverted to the rock of New Plymouth.

* See Abbe Reynal's *British Settlements in America*, Vol. I.

§ 35.

The first attempt at an effectual colonization by the English, took place at the close of the ever-memorable reign of Queen Elizabeth. This princess cherished every project which could strengthen her navy, extend her commerce, give eclat to her imperious ambition, or range to her proud, lofty, heroic spirit. Spain, whose claim to North America had not yet slumbered, she neither dreaded or flattered. About the close of the sixteenth century, she gave a powerful impetus to the enterprising spirit of her subjects, assisted the Dutch republic in achieving its emancipation, and scattered the invincible armada, which Philip had prepared for her humiliation. The earlier events of her reign, had predisposed the nation to bold adventure. Though she encouraged maritime skill and science more than polite literature, yet the latter kept pace with the former. The study of foreign works laid the foundation of the English classics ; and just, indeed, is the renown of that reign, in which the fame of a Spenser, a Sydney, and a Shakespeare, is associated with that of a Raleigh, a Drake, and a Hawkins.

Under these celebrated commanders, several squadrons had been equipped by Elizabeth, to cruise upon the Spanish coasts and islands of America. They returned with accounts so flattering, of the fertility and riches of Florida, that many of her enterprising subjects appeared very zealous in promoting settlements in that part of the world.

The first letters patent granted by the queen, "for inhabiting and planting our people in America," was in 1578, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was reputed for naval skill, and for a high and resolute spirit. (112) Five years passed without effecting any profitable result, when, in 1583, Sir Humphrey took solemn possession of Newfoundland, and perished on his return to England.

The crisis, though favourable for colonization, still seemed to require some master-spirit to give to it a suitable impulse and an enduring effect. This master-spirit appeared in the person of Sir Walter Raleigh, the most extraordinary genius of his own, or perhaps any other, times : a penetrating statesman, an accomplished courtier, a deep scholar, a fine writer, a great soldier, and one of the ablest seamen in the world. This great genius conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches, which, for nearly a century, had flown from the western hemisphere into the eastern. He cast his eye on the eastern coast of North America. The talent he had for subduing the mind, by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates both at court, and among the merchants. High in the favour of his queen, the company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained (the year after the disaster of Sir Walter's half brother, Sir Humphrey) in March 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made between 33° and 40° of north latitude ; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that entered Pampico Sound, and afterwards anchored in Roanoke Bay, now a part of Carolina, took possession thereof in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and called the country Virginia, after her. Every thing that these successful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed.(113) But though several attempts were renewed at great expense, yet the fall and disgrace of Raleigh, whose genius withal was of a fiery and eccentric nature, suspended further enterprise, and the colony having lost its founder, was forgotten for twelve years, when, in 1602, transatlantic adventure was renewed by Bartholomew Gosnold, and a new spirit of colonial enterprise consequently infused among the English.

§ 36.

The first house erected, and the first soil cultivated by any modern Europeans within the colonial limits of New-York,* and indeed the first particular examination of any part of New-England, were by Bartholomew Gosnold, one year before the death of Queen Elizabeth. One hundred and ninety-five years afterwards, (viz. in 1797) Dr. Belknap† discovered the cellar of the store-house which had been built by Gosnold on one of the Elizabeth islands,‡ and some vestiges of it were found by a party of gentlemen, who recently visited the spot.§

Bartholomew Gosnold was an intrepid mariner of the west of England. He had sailed to Virginia in one of Sir Walter Raleigh's ships, and became convinced that a shorter route than that by the Canaries, might be pursued from England to America. It is not known by whose encouragement, and under whose patronage, he fitted out the present expedition. It might have been the project of his own enterprising genius, and carried into effect at his own expense. But as he had been in Raleigh's employment; as Martin Pring, who was with him in the present voyage, afterwards pursued the same direction, by permission of Sir Walter and his associates, (who, it seems, had the exclusive right of planting Virginia) and as Rosier, also one of Gosnold's company, afterwards wrote an account of the present voyage,|| and presented it to Sir Walter, it may be concluded as probable, that Gosnold

* See *ante*, p. 110,

† See his *Amer. Biog.* V. II. p. 113, 114.

‡ See description of these islands and Duke's county, Vol. III. (2d series,) *Mass. Hist. Collections*.

§ See Vol. V. *North Am. Rev.* p. 315.

|| See Gosnold's *Voyage in Purchase*, Vol. V. and in Vol. II. (containing the most accurate account of it) Belknap's *Amer. Biog.* See *ante-colonial Hist. of New-England*. Vol. VI. *N. Am. Rev.* p. 36. (n. s.)

sailed under his auspices. For it appears, that his design was to lay the foundation of a colony in America, and for that purpose he no doubt received the approbation, if not the patronage, of Sir Walter, with whose patented rights he must have been acquainted.

Accordingly, with this design, Gosnold associated with himself, a company of thirty-two men, eight of whom were mariners, and in a small bark sailed from Falmouth, in Cornwall, on the 27th March, 1602. To test the practicability of a nearer route than by the Canaries and Mexico, he boldly steered his course in as direct a way, and as far to the north as winds and current would permit; and after a passage of seven weeks, he enjoyed the satisfaction of having his prior conviction confirmed, and consequently the honour of being the first Englishman, who, by deviating from the usual circuitous route, greatly lessened the distance, and therefore diminished the dangers of a passage to America. He arrived in sight of Massachusetts Bay, discovered and named Cape Cod, passed Nantucket, and landed upon the island, which has been denominated No Man's Land. When Gosnold first arrived, (May 14th) on the continent, he met a shallop of European fabric, in which were eight savages, one of whom was dressed in European clothes, from which circumstances, it was concluded, that some unfortunate fisherman of Biscay had been wrecked on the coast. The fishery and fur trade had been busily carried on by different nations; and even the English, notwithstanding the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's spirited exertions to colonise Virginia, had continued this kind of northern adventure, in common with other nations. At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that any European had been here before Gosnold, with views similar to those which had induced him hither.

On his arrival at No Man's Land, he landed. This is a small island, the most eastern of those now known as Elizabeth islands. It is five leagues from that which Gosnold named Elizabeth, four from that which is now known as the Vineyard, and its Indian name, according to Dr. Belknap, is

Nenimissett. Its modern name of No Man's Land, arose from its being deserted or uninhabited. Having landed, Gosnold explored the island, and found it five miles in circumference. It is now four, having since diminished by the effect of the tides that set in and out of the bay. Gosnold found it uninhabited, full of woods, berries, deer, and *vines*. From the abundance of the last, he named the island Martha's Vineyard. According to Hubbard,* who cites Captain Brierton, one of the company, they took up their station in Martha's Vineyard, planted grain and peas in the middle of May, which vegetated with wonderful rapidity. It is possible, however, that he may refer to the large island which afterwards acquired that name. For according to the journal,† they remained but two days, and then passed round Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff,‡ and anchored in Vineyard Sound, probably near Menemsha Bite. Still, as the large island was inhabited, and the small one not, perhaps Gosnold might have subsequently visited the latter, to learn the result of his experiment. When the name of Martha's Vineyard was transferred from the small to the large island, Dr. Belknap says he cannot explain, unless it might arise from the fact, that the latter was called by old writers, *Martin's Vineyard*; and as the former was uninhabited, and the latter was always peopled, and had also *vines*,§ the two names of Martha and Martin, became confounded, and the first was gradually applied to the Vineyard. It will appear that Pring, whose name was *Martin*, again visited these islands after this first voyage had terminated, and it may

* In Hist. of New-Eng. Vol. V. Mass. Hist. Collections.

† Gabriel Archer is mentioned as the journalist by Belknap, to whom we are principally indebted for the facts here detailed.

‡ Which is supposed to be the eastern head of a small island, which was called by the natives *Onky Tonky*, but now corrupted into *Uncle Tommy*. The rocky ledge is called Rattlesnake Neck.

§ The ancient Vinelanders found the grape long before Gosnold, see p. 115, 116, *ante*.

be that the large island was named after him. Hubbard* says the name of Martha's Vineyard was bestowed in consequence of its fruitfulness; that the island, *Capowake*, (its Indian name) was called Martha, or commonly, 'Martyne's Vineyard.'† Its Indian name was *Capawock*, as given by old writers, but according to Gookin, it was *Nope*. It probably had two names.‡ It might afford relief to the dryness of this investigation, if we should interrupt it for the present, and here superadd to the Indian names of this island, the Indian tradition respecting its aboriginal discovery, and that of some of the neighbouring islands.

The tradition respecting Martha's vineyard is this:§ The first Indian who came to the vineyard, was brought thither with his dog on a cake of ice. When he came to Gay Head, he found a very large man, whose name was *Moshup*. He had a wife and five children, four sons and one daughter, and lived in the den. He used to catch whales, and then pluck up trees, and make a fire and roast them. The coals of the trees, and the bones of the whales, were to be seen, (according to the tradition at the time when it was related, viz.) a century ago. After he was tired of staying here, he told his children to go and play ball on a beach that joined No Man's Land to Gay Head. He then made a mark with his toe across the beach at each end, and so deep that the water followed and cut away the beach, so that his children were in fear of drowning. They took their sister up and held her out of the water. He told them to act as if they were going to kill whales, and they were all turned into killers, (a fish so called.) The sister was dressed in large stripes. He gave them a strict charge always to be kind to her. His wife mourned the loss of her children so exceedingly, that he threw her away. She fell

* Hist. New-Eng. ib. p. 68.

† The Dutch called it "Marten Vingers," according to De Laet, 'Nieuwe Werelat,' B. 3. ch. 8. but, according to Judge Benson, it was "Martin Wyngaard's Island."

‡ See Vol. III. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1st series. p. 154, 201.

§ See Vol. I. Massachusetts Historical Collection, p. 139.

upon Seconet, near the rocks, where she lived some time, exacting contribution of all who passed by water. After a while she was changed into a stone. The entire shape remained for several years. But after the English came, some of them broke off the arms, head, &c. but the most of the body remains to this day. *Maushup* went away nobody knows whither. He had no conversation with the Indians, but was kind to them, by sending whales, &c. ashore to them to eat. But after they grew thick around him, he left them.

Among the Indians of Nantucket island a tradition prevailed, that an eagle having seized and carried off in his talons a papoos, the parents followed him in their canoe till they came to Nantucket, where they found the bones of their child dropped by the eagle.*

The more particular tradition of the aboriginal discovery of Nantucket is this:† A great many moons ago, a bird of extraordinary size often visited the south shore of Cape Cod, and carried thence southward, a great number of small children. *Maushop*, the Indian giant, who lived in those parts, enraged at this havoc, once waded into the sea in pursuit of the bird, till he had crossed the sound and reached Nantucket, which had been unknown to the aborigines. There he found the bones of the children in a heap under a large tree. Desirous of smoking, he ransacked the island for tobacco, but finding none, filled his pipe with *poke*, (a weed.) Ever since, *fogs* have been frequent at Nantucket and on the Cape. In allusion to their tradition, the natives upon observing fogs arise, exclaim, "there comes old *Maushop's* smoke."‡

We will now return to Gosnold, who had, as we observed, anchored in Vineyard Sound after doubling and naming Gay

* Notes on Nantucket, in Vol. III. Mass. Hist. Coll. (new series,) p. 35.

† In Memorabilia of Yarmouth, Vol. V. (first series,) Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 56.

‡ Another tradition states that Nantucket was formed out of the ashes which *Maushop* knocked out of his pipe. See Vol. I. Memoirs of Boston Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Head. Leaving his mooring, he passed round the ledge of rocks known by the name of the Sow and Pigs, which extend a mile into the sea, entered the mouth of Buzzards Bay, and finally landed upon Cuttyhunk, the most western of the Elizabeth islands. Finding it covered with vines, rich in foilage, romantic in scenery, and secure and protected from its insular situation, he determined to make it his abiding place. Its Indian name is contracted from "*Poo-cut-oh-hunk*," which signifies a thing that lies out of water. But Gosnold gave to it the name of Elizabeth in honour of the queen.

Upon exploring the island for the purpose of selecting a suitable site for building, this young colony made choice of a snug little rocky islet, the Indian name of which was Nau-shaun: its area was about one acre, and it was situated at the west end of the north side of Cuttyhunk, in the centre of a pond of fresh water, three quarters of a mile long, and of an unequal breadth. Three weeks were employed in clearing the islet, digging and stoning a cellar, erecting a house, fortifying it with palisades, and covering it with sedge which grew on the sides of the pond. While about one-third of them were thus engaged, Gosnold crossed the bay and discovered the mouth of two rivers; one of them is that, near which, is Hap's Hill, the other, on the shores of which stands New-Bedford. On his first approach to the main land, he was met by "men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness entertained him, giving him skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, atificial strings coloured, (wampum,) and such like things as they had about them." Thus cordially welcomed by a people whose manners indicated the primitive sincerity and simplicity of the olden time, and in a country which displayed the most enchanting scenery, Gosnold might have fancied he had arrived at that land which the visions of poetry had painted as the seat of the blessed. The calmness and mildness of the weather at this peculiar season; the serenity of the North American sky; the alubrity of the sea breeze, as it met and mingled with the fragrance of the meadow and

the wood, the silent majesty of the ocean “reposing in her dark strength,” yet gilded by the sun-beams as they flitted across its bosom; the surrounding grandeur of the forest; the luxuriance of vegetation; the harmony which made “spring vocal:” constituted altogether a scene so delightfully new, picturesque, and romantic, blending in the contemplation of a reflecting observer, so much natural beauty with moral sublimity, as to vindicate the most extravagant anticipations of happiness which Gosnold might have indulged; while surveying the scene he brought to mind, that hither he had arrived to lay the foundation of a colony, which might be the germ of a powerful empire. With such views he recrossed the bay and rejoined his associates, after an absence of five days, and with such views, he afterwards, as it will appear, revisited his native country.

Previously to his return to his little islet in Cuttyhunk, a chief of the neighbouring country with his retinue of fifty men, had arrived there on a visit. They were dressed in their peculiar style, and some of their ornaments were copper. For the purpose of making an imposing display, or of impressing upon their minds, a conviction that the leader of the white men was a very great man, Gosnold was received by his friends with studied pomp and ceremony. The Indians were feasted, and so highly pleased that the chief permitted some of his men to remain and aid the colonists in digging sassafras, with which and with furs, they designed to load their vessel for England.

Gosnold's intention was to remain with twenty men, and send his mate Gilbert, with twelve men to England with the vessel and cargo, to obtain supplies for the infant colony. But upon examining their stock of provisions, it was ascertained, that after victualling the vessel, six weeks provision only could be spared for those who should remain. Indications of hostility from the Indians, also startled them; some jealousy prevailed respecting the distribution of the proceeds of the cargo, and the intention of those who were to have the care of it, and the result was, that after a further consultaion of five days, they

concluded unanimously to abandon for that time the project of colonisation, and return to England.

Conformably to this prudent determination, they departed from Cuttyhunk on the eighteenth day of June, and, after a short and pleasant passage of five weeks, they arrived at Exmouth, in England.

This voyage, however trifling it might at first appear, was very important when viewed in connexion with its incidental consequences. Its rapidity and success made a strong impression upon the English merchants. The new route marked out by the intrepid Gosnold, shortened the distance to Virginia nearly one half. The enthusiastic admiration of the country which he and his associates expressed, was also calculated to revive a colonising spirit among their countrymen. The former had indeed visited it in the spring, and departed in the summer, and it is no wonder that they represented the country as the Garden of Eden. Gosnold was indefatigable in his exertions in conjunction with Captain John Smith, to promote the establishment of a colony; and although he does not appear ever to have revisited the little rocky islet of *Naushaun* in *Cuttyhunk*, upon which the first house was erected within the former limits of New-York, yet he embarked with Captain Smith in his first expedition to South Virginia, was a member of the Colonial Council, and there died in the year 1607.

§ 37.

Among those who were distinguished for the zeal with which they encouraged the renewal of adventures to North America, Richard Hackluyt* was conspicuous. He compiled those valuable collections which have been ever since a standard authority; which were designed to promote the colonization of North America; and which, no doubt, in connexion with the

* * See Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 189, n. Vol. I. Belk. Am. Biog. p. 403.

personal influence and exertions of their author, contributed to produce that result in a very great degree. He accordingly, after the return of Gosnold, persuaded the municipal authority and merchants of the wealthy city of Bristol, to equip two vessels, to take the route which Gosnold had so fortunately prescribed. Having obtained permission from Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, two small vessels were equipped, one of fifty tons, called the *Speedwell*, the other a bark of twenty-six tons, named the *Discoverer*. The command of the ship was given to Martin Pring (or Prinne); the bark was commanded by William Brown. Robert Salterne, who had been with Gosnold, was supercargo and principal agent. The design of this equipment was to make new discoveries, ascertain whether the flattering accounts given of North Virginia were exaggerated, and to bring home a cargo of sassafras and furs. Pring sailed in April 1603, a few days after the demise of the queen. His voyage was prosperous. He revisited the islands to which he and Gosnold had been the year before, and from his christian name that of *Martin's Vineyard* was probably derived. After his arrival on the coast, in June, Pring entered the harbour of Edgartown, in Martha's Vineyard, which he called Whitson Bay, and anchored under shelter of Cappaquiddick Neck, to which he gave the name of Mount Alworth. Here he spent several weeks collecting sassafras. Martha's Vineyard then contained sassafras, *vines*, cedar, oak, ash, beech, birch, cherry, hazel, walnut, maple, holly, and wild plum. The land animals were "stags and fallow deer in abundance, bears, wolves, foxes, lusernes, porcupines, and dogs with sharp and long noses." The waters and shores abounded with fish and shell-fish of various kinds, and aquatic birds.

Although this company had no design of making a settlement, yet they erected a temporary hut, and enclosed it with a barricade, in which they kept guard day and night, while others were in the woods gathering sassafras. The Indians often visited them. They were adorned with plates of copper. Their bows, arrows, and quivers, were neatly made.

They lived on fish ; but the English gave them pulse, and trinkets. Their birchen canoes were considered great curiosities ; and one of them, seventeen feet long and four broad, was taken to Bristol as a sample of their ingenuity. They were excessively delighted with music : and would dance in a ring around an English youth who played upon the guitar.*

The Indians repeatedly visited them in parties from ten to a hundred. An amicable disposition prevailed on both sides, and no instance of actual aggression is recorded. But in the end of July, the bark with sassafras sailed to England. The Indians perceiving their force thus diminished, advanced one day in a hostile manner to the barricade. There were one hundred and forty, armed with bows and arrows. They demanded the four men who were on guard with muskets, to come out. Captain Pring, with two men only on board the ship, perceiving the danger of the guard, secured his ship, and fired one of his great guns as a signal for the labourers who had been engaged in the woods, and were reposing after their fatigue, relying upon the protection of their two mastiffs, which the English had brought over. The Indians had early manifested great terror from the bark of these dogs. They now awoke their masters, who, hearing a second gun, seized their arms, and hastened to the relief of the guard. The Indians observing their approach, affected to turn the whole affair into a jest, and went off laughing. In a few days, however, they set fire to the woods where the sassafras grew. These alarming incidents hastened the departure of the ship. Even when it was ready to sail, the Indians, in an unexampled number, amounting to about two hundred, came to the shore,

* “ Is there, indeed, whom music cannot melt ?

Alas, how is that rugged heart forlorn.

* * * * *

He need not woo the Muse, he is her scorn ;

The sophist's robe of cobweb he shall twine,

Mope o'er the schoolman's peevish page, and mourn

And delve for life in Mammon's dirty mine ;

Sneak with the scoundrel fox. or grunt with glutton swine : ”

ostensibly for the purpose of inviting Pring to remain. He very prudently declined the invitation ; sailed off on the 9th of August ; and, after a passage as short as that of Gosnold on his return the year before, Pring arrived in England, and fully confirmed the glowing description which had previously been given of the beauties of the North Virginia regions.* This account was still further confirmed by Captain George Weymouth, in his unsuccessful voyage to the north in 1605.† His voyage is memorable only, says Dr. Belknap, for the discovery of Penobscot River, (not Hudson River, as Beverly, in the preface to his History of Virginia, supposes) and for his kidnapping five natives, whom he carried to England.‡

Weymouth visited an island of six miles in compass, on which he caused grain to be sown. From this he could discern the continent and very high mountains ; and coasting among the islands adjoining the main, he found an excellent harbour. The island upon which grain was sown, Stith, in his History of Virginia,§ is inclined to believe was Block Island ; and the river he explored either Narraganset or Connecticut. But Dr. Belknap has designated the route with more precision and accuracy.

§ 38.

The importance of these voyages, however, was exhibited in their effect upon the dormant spirit of colonisation, upon the revival of which, schemes for that purpose became popular. Upon the accession of king James to the throne of England, several merchants and others associated, and as former patents had expired, were forfeited, or disregarded, by that vain, weak, and bigoted king, he was easily flattered to yield

* See authorities *ante*, cited under Gosnold's voyage.

† See Vol. I. Belk. Am. Biog. *Art.* "Gorges," for an account of voyages before the arrival of the Pilgrims, as well as that of the latter. Also Vol. II. p. 151, &c.

‡ See Vol. II. Belk. Am. Biog. p. 135, &c.

§ Page 33.

the sanction of his royal authority, by granting, in 1606, a new patent to two monopolies, who were afterwards denominated the South and North Virginia Companies.

Notwithstanding the connexion which these early events have with our history, inasmuch as this State was a part of the territory thus chartered, we shall barely dwell upon a few general facts, and for particulars, refer to the Virginia historians, Smith,* Stith,† Beverly‡ and Burks§.

If ever any design had an ominous beginning, and seemed to forbid any attempts for its continuance, it was that of the first settlement of Virginia. Nearly half of the first colony was destroyed by the savages, and the rest exhausted and worn down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country and returned home in despair. The second colony was cut off to a man, in a manner unknown; but they were supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. The third, met very nearly the same dismal fate; and the fourth, quarreling among themselves, neglected their agriculture to hunt for gold, and provoking the Indians by their insolent and unguarded behaviour, lost several of their people; the remains of which were returning in 1610, in a famishing and desperate condition to England, when just in the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, they met Lord Delawar, the successful founder of Virginia, who, regardless of his life, and inattentive to his fortune, had entered upon this long and dangerous voyage, and accepted this barren province, which had nothing of a government but its cares and anxieties, merely for the service of his country and the interest of posterity.(114)

Indeed, so precarious was the dominion which our English ancestors held upon Virginia territory, that while Hudson was exploring our river, they were struggling for existence with

* See his history in Pinkerton's Collections.

† "Whose word is equal to a record," says Mr. Jefferson, in MS. letter in possession of N. Y. Hist. Society, addressed to Doct. Miller, 1800.

‡ Col. Beverly, author of the anonymous work.

§ Late history of Virginia.

an effort scarcely calculated to surmount its difficulties. For the very year afterwards, the planters were reduced by an irruption of the natives, from 500 to 80 men, who, abandoning the country, were met on their way to England by Lord Delawar as before mentioned. Such were the formidable obstacles which they were obliged to encounter, that even so late as 1622, when our Dutch progenitors had quietly seated themselves in this State, and the pilgrims had made a tranquil settlement in New-England, the English in Virginia suffered a massacre in one day, of three hundred and forty-seven of their colonists.

§ 40

On the death of Elizabeth, the crown of England passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. James made peace with Spain. Tranquillity being restored, the commencement of the seventeenth century was peculiarly auspicious for foreign enterprise. Although the Spanish claim on the restoration of peace, was revived and insisted upon, yet it seems that even James did not incline to regard it more than his subjects. Indeed, so late as 1609, while Hudson was exploring our river, the validity of the Pope's gift of the territory through which it ran, was seriously agitated, but it was treated by writers of that day, as the unsubstantial fabric of a vision.

In a work published, London 1609, entitled, "*Nova Britannia. Offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia.*" These pretensions are thus discussed: "Of late a challeng is laid to all, by vertue of a donation from Alexander the first, Pope of Rome, wherein (they say) is given al the West Indies, including Florida and Virginia, with al America, and whatsoever ilands adjacent. But what is this to us? They are blind indeed that stumble here; it is much like that great donation of Constantine, whereby the Pope himself doth hold and claime the cittie of Rome, and all the western empire, a thing that so crosseth all histories of truth and sound antiquitie, that by the apt resemblance of those two donations, the

whole west empire from a temporall prince to the Pope, and the whole West Indies, from the Pope to a temporall Prince, I doe verily guesse they be neere of Kinne, they are so like each other; the one an old tale vaine and fabulous, the other a new toy most idle and ridiculous. When the flatterers of Cambises, King of Persia, could find no law to warrant his immoderate lust, and incestuous marriage with his owne daughter, yet they told him of another law which they had found, whereby the kings of Persia might doe what they listed: if in these cases, likewise, there be a law that the Pope may do what he list, let them that list obey him, for we believe not in him." He then proceeds to point out the advantages of the settlement, and vehemently urges his countrymen to go forward notwithstanding the pretensions of "one Prince Christian, whose people within the memory of man, began first to creepe upon the face of those Territories, and now by meanes of their remnants settled here and there, doe therefore imagine the world to be theirs, shouldring out all other nations."

Sir Walter Raleigh's patent (the first being limited to six years) was vacated by his attainder. Other grants that were made prior to 1606, were disregarded by James. (115) It is said (116) that the patent of 1606 was obtained through the solicitation of Chief Justice John Popham and others, and that Sir John Gilbert revived the claim of his brother Sir Humphrey. It granted to the South Virginia (or London) Company, viz. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluyt,* and Edward Maria Wingfield, Esq. adventurers of the city of London and their associates, to settle between 34 and 41 degrees of north latitude; to the North Virginia Company, viz. Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, between 38 and 45 degrees of the same latitude. Each company should have fifty miles each way along the continent, from the place of their settlement, (thus precluding the actual contact of settle-

* Author of "Collections of Voyages, &c."

ments within one hundred miles) and one hundred miles back into the country.†

Thus New-York was partitioned, so that both patents included it. All colonising enterprise having slept from 1590, till Bartholomew Gosnold awakened it in 1602, though some feeble, ill-directed, and unavailing efforts in the mean time were made to discover the lost colony in Virginia, yet the first effectual settlement in North America may be placed about two years previous to the discovery of Hudson river. It was conducted under the South Virginia Company, sustained by that intrepid and daring adventurer, acute and sagacious observer, the founder of James Town, Captain John Smith, and preserved through the friendship of Pocahontes.

At the north the fisheries seemed first to attract the English as well as the French. The planting of a colony was not it seems contemplated by the North Virginia Company, but the establishment only of little factories for traffic and fishing. (117) In fact, had not religion become the incentive as well as consolation for the hardships of northern colonisation, England might never have had colonies there. Under the auspices of Chief Justice Popham, ineffectual attempts at an establishment were made, and in 1607 Captain George Popham as president, and Captain Rawly Gilbert as admiral, arrived at Sagadehock, (on Kennebeck river). In the winter Captain Popham died, and Captain Rawley Gilbert succeeded him as president. In the spring Chief Justice Popham sent two ships with supplies, but before they sailed the chief justice died, and before they arrived Sir John Gilbert (surviving brother of Sir Humphrey) died, leaving his younger brother Rawley his heir. These melancholy events, combined with the hardships incidental to the enterprise, hastened the departure of the adventurers, and the abandonment of the country.*

* Prince in chronology.

† See Salmon Mod. Hist. Vol. XXX, p. 430. Hazard's Coll. Vol. I. p. 50 Beverly's "Hist. of Virginia," 2d. edit. 1722. p. 13, 14. Stith's Virginia, 32, 35, &c. and appendix, Purchas' Pilgrims: and see as to effect of this division, Belk. Am. Biog. Vol. I. 400—401.

With the exception of a few adventurers, who came over from time to time in the summer, built temporary huts for trading with the savages and then departed, these northern patented regions remained unvisited till 1620, except by the ever-toiling John Smith in 1614, and by Captain Argal from Virginia. The former pronounced the country of Massachusetts a paradise; was prevented from attempting a settlement only by the want of "means to transport a colony;" and though he had sailed on a fishing and whaling voyage, yet, from the observations he made of the coasts, islands, and harbour (in his range from Penobscot to Cape Cod) he formed the first map of the country, and gave it the name of New-England. (118) The latter (Argal) sailed under the South Virginia government, while England was at peace with France and Spain (as will be hereafter particularized), proceeded to Acadia, destroyed a French establishment a little north of Cape Cod, invaded and conquered the little quiet settlement of the Dutch on the Hudson, and returned to Virginia with their spoils, and his own inglorious laurels.

In truth, until eleven years after the discovery of our river by Hudson, no permanent colony was located in New-England. The vigorous operation of religious intolerance, which produced the emigration of the pilgrims, (whose memorable voyage was intended to have been made to this river, as will appear hereafter) revived the project of settling this part of America, among the North Virginia Company. They had no new or distinct grant from 1606. Their patent became vacated, and in November (3d) 1620, King James, by a new patent, incorporated the Duke of Lenox, the Marquisses of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and thirty-four others, by the name of the Great Council, established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England; granting them the country from the 40° to 48° N. latitude inclusively, and in length of and within, all the breadth aforesaid throughout the mainlands, from sea to sea: *Provided*, the same be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or state.

This charter or patent, is the great civil basis on which all subsequent patents, in the subdivision of New-England, were founded. (119) It embraced this State, though then in the possession of the Dutch, and conflicted with the claims of France, not merely to this State, but to the northern territories that were afterwards conceded to her. These charters will also appear important in the disputes which New-York has had in the settlement of its boundaries.

The patent or charter of 1606 for South Virginia, was vacated at the desire of the patentees, and in 1609, renewed and enlarged, by which the London company was incorporated by the name of "The Treasurer, and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London, for the first Colony in Virginia." This was again enlarged by that of March 12, 1611-12.*

§ 41.

We heretofore observed that the impulse to North American adventure arose from the policy of king Henry IV., Queen Elizabeth, and Prince Maurice; that France claimed this State in collision with England; and that the claims of both were opposed to that of Spain and of their revolted provinces the Republic of Holland. The time of Cardinal Richelieu, in the subsequent reign of Louis XIV. is considered (120) the true era of French policy. This celebrated minister, while he pacified all at home, and strove, even at the expense of liberty, to exalt the royal authority upon the ruins of the power of the nobility, and to model a system of general policy in external affairs, which should raise France and her monarch to an exalted height of grandeur; did not, amongst his numerous and extensive cares, forget those of commerce, and what serves most effectually to support commerce, colonies, and establishments abroad. But the circumstances of the time, and his genius and ambition, that embraced so many objects, did not leave

* These three charters are in Stith's Hist. of Virg. Appx. and in Vol. I. Hazard's Collections, p. 50, 53, 72.

him leisure to perfect what he began. It was reserved for Colbert, who has been pronounced a great, wise, and honest minister, one of the ablest that ever served any prince or honoured any country, (121) to bring that plan to perfection, to carry it in a great measure into execution, and to leave things in such order that it was not difficult, when favourable circumstances offered, to make France one of the first commercial powers in Europe; and her colonies the most powerful, their nature considered, of any in America.

Notwithstanding this may be viewed as the true era of the commercial policy of France, (the civil wars that had so distracted her from her true interests having subsided) still the emulation her subjects caught from the enterprising examples of other states at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, could not escape the favourable observation of so great a prince as Henry the Fourth,* to whose liberal and enlightened policy France was indebted for a long period of her prosperity.

It was under Henry* (surnomme Le Grand) that De La Roche, in 1598, obtained his commission to conquer Canada. It was from Henry that the family *Des Monts* received, in 1603, (the first year of king James and last of Elizabeth) a grant which included this State, and comprehended all the American lands from the 40° to the 46° north latitude.† It was two years before he fell by the dagger of an assassin, that Quebec was founded, (1608) and one year before, that Champlain, its founder (1609) explored the northern coast of our State, and made a contemporaneous discovery of Lake Champlain during the time Hudson was discovering our bay and river at its southern extremity.

De La Roche having obtained from Henry the Great the commission to conquer Canada and other countries not possessed by any Christian Prince, sailed with a colony of convicts from the prisons, and landed forty on the Isle of Sable. The survivors, twelve only, were taken off seven years after.

* Who reigned from 1589 to 1603.—*Mezeray*.

† See patent in Hazard, Vol. I. p. 46. 51. Stith's Virg. Appx.

and Henry pardoned them, giving each fifty crowns as a recompense for their sufferings.*

Five years after De La Roche had sailed, Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts (or Ments) having obtained from Henry a patent for planting of L'Acadia and Canada, from latitude 40° to 46°, which embraced Nassau River† and the whole of our present State, the same year Champlain sailed up the great Canada river and returned. Next year, (1604) De Monts sailed from France, taking Champlain and Champdore for pilots, and Pourtrincourt, who intended a settlement in America. They discovered and began plantations at Port Royal, St. John's, and St. Croix, in the Bay of Funda. Pourtrincourt introduced two Jesuits in 1607. Champlain, by order of De Monts, sailed up the river of Canada, and fortified Quebec, the name of a strait in the river. In 1609, Champlain‡ (having discovered the lake that afterwards took his name) returned to France, leaving Captain Pierre to command at Quebec. The next year he revisited and reassumed his command.‡

Our northern lake, which Champlain first explored, and which is now connected, by one of the Grand Canals of this State, with the river which Hudson discovered the same year, was then within the limits of Irocoisia,§ and for many years after, and long before it assumed the name of its discoverer, was called Iroquois Lake, or *Lacus Irocoisia*.|| The river,

* See Purchas's Pilgrims. Forster's North. Voyages.

† Nassau—afterwards Delaware River—afterwards, by the Dutch, called South river, in contradistinction to the North river (or Hudson.) Vol. III. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 385. Ebeling, Amer. N. Y. ch. I.

‡ Purchas.

§ The country proper of the Iroquois or Five Nations. See p. 95. *ante*. Irocoisia was bounded on the east by the range of Green Mountains, on the west by the great lakes. See authorities next quotation.

|| Or *Lacus Irocoisi*. (Map Novi Belgii, &c. Ogilby's Amer. A. D. 1671. p. 168, 9. *Lacus Irocoiensis* in Nova Belgica et Anglia in XI. Geographiæ Blavianæ, A. D. 1662. *Lac Champlain ou mere de Iroquois*, Johannes Van Keulen's Atlas, pub. Amst. 1720. The Iroquois or Five Nations called this lake *Corlaer*, in honour of one of our colonial citizens, who perished upon it, who was distinguished, as William Penn was, for humanity and justice, and was equally revered by the Indians. See hereafter.

from this lake to the St. Lawrence, was also called Iroquois river, afterwards Richelieu, (in honour of that celebrated prime minister) and now, Sorel. St. Lawrence itself was also the Iroquois river; and Ontario, one of its sources, was the Iroquois lake.

After Quebec was founded, its founder and his countrymen made it their policy to cultivate the friendship of the neighbouring *Algonquins* and *Les Montagnez*, and these their interest to promote an alliance with the former, for the purpose of vigorously prosecuting a war against their common enemy, the Iroquois. Accordingly, in 1609, a party of them, including Hurons, prepared to march against that people, and they persuaded Samuel Champlain to accompany them. He wished to secure their devoted friendship, and he imagined that, in alliance with their power, he could prostrate that of the Iroquois, and of all tribes who should attempt to oppose his designs. The secret of his policy, according to Charlevoix,* was to humble the Iroquois, in order to unite, by a good peace, all the nations of Canada in alliance with the French. He did not foresee that the former, who for a long time had, single-handed, kept in awe the Indians three hundred miles around them, would be aided eventually by Europeans in another quarter, jealous of the encroaching power of the French. It was not his fault, therefore, that circumstances, which he could not have anticipated, subsequently concurred to frustrate his plan.

Having yielded his consent to join the expedition, he embarked with his new allies at Quebec, and sailed into the Iroquois river (now Sorel) until the rapids near Chambly prevented his vessel from proceeding. His allies had not apprised him of this impediment: on the contrary, they had studiously concealed it as well as other obstacles. His vessel returned; but he, and two Frenchmen who would not desert him, determined to proceed, notwithstanding the difficulties of the navigation, and the duplicity of their allies in concealing

* Histoire Nouvelle France, tom. I.

those difficulties. They transported their canoes beyond the rapids, and encamped for the night. As was customary, they sent a spy to range in the vicinity, who in a short time returned, and informed them that he saw no enemy. Without placing any guard, they prepared for repose. Champlain, surprised to find them so stupidly incautious and confident of their safety, endeavoured to prevail with them to keep watch. All the reply they made was, that people who were fatigued all day, had need of sleep at night. Afterwards, when they thought that they were approaching nearer towards the enemy, they were induced to be more guarded, to travel at night only, and keep no fires in the day time. Champlain was charmed with the variegated and beautiful aspect of the country. The islands were filled with deer and other animals, which supplied the army with abundance of game, and the river and lake afforded abundance of fish. In the progress of their route, he derived much knowledge of the Indian character, as it was displayed in this warlike excursion. He was particularly amused to perceive the blind confidence which the Indians paid to their soothsayer or sorcerer, who, in the time of one of their encampments, went through with his terrific ceremony. For several days they inquired of Champlain if he had not seen the Iroquois in a dream. His answer being that he had not, caused great disquietude among them. At last, to relieve them from their embarrassment, or get rid of their importunity, he told them he had, in a dream, seen the Iroquois drowning in a lake, but that he did not rely altogether upon the dream. The allies judged differently, for they now no longer doubted a victory. Having entered upon the great lake, which now bears the name of Champlain, in honour of its discoverer, he and his allies traversed it until they approached towards the junction of the outlet of Lake St. Sacrament (now Lake George*) with Lake Champlain, at or near Ticonderoga.* The design of the allies was to pass the rapids between those two lakes, to make an irrup-

* See Spafford's Gazetteer, 2d ed. articles "Lake George." "*Ticonderoga*." This Indian name signifies the meeting of the waters. Judge Benson.

tion into the mountainous regions and valleys of the Iroquois beyond the small lake, and, by surprise, to strike them at one of their villages. The latter saved them the necessity of journeying so far, for they suddenly made their appearance at ten o'clock at night, and by mere accident met the former on the Great Lake. The surprise of both parties was equalled only by their joy, which were expressed in shouts ; and as it was not their practice to fight upon the water,* unless when they were too far from land to retreat, they mutually hurried to the shore.

Here, then, in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, (a spot afterwards celebrated in the achievements of the French and revolutionary wars,) the two war parties pitched for battle. The allies immediately laboured to entrench themselves behind fallen trees, and soon sent a messenger to the Iroquois, to learn whether they would fight immediately. The latter replied, that the night was too dark, they could not see themselves, and the former must await the approach of day. The allies consented, and after taking necessary precaution, slept. At break of day, Champlain placed his two Frenchmen and some savages in the wood, to attack the enemy in flank. These consisted of two hundred choice and resolute men, who considered victory as certain and easy over the Algonquins and Hurons, whom, the former did not expect, would have dared to take the field. The allies were equal to them in number, but displayed a part only of their warriors. They, as well as the enemy, were armed with bows and arrows only, but they founded their hopes of conquest upon the fire-arms of the French ; and they pointed out to Champlain, and advised him to fire upon the three chiefs who were distinguished by feathers or tails of birds larger than those of their followers. The allies first made a sortie from their entrenchment,

* A tradition, which will be mentioned in our aboriginal history, has been preserved, of a terrible sea-fight upon Lake Erie, between the Iroquois, or confederated Five Nations, and their enemies, (some centuries, however, before that of Commodore Perry.)

and ran two hundred feet in front of the enemy, then stopped, divided into two bands to the right and left, leaving the centre position for Champlain, who advanced and placed himself at their head. His sudden appearance and arms were new to the Iroquois, whose astonishment became extreme. But what was their dismay, when, after the first report of his arquebuse, from the spot where he had posted four men, the Iroquois saw two of their chiefs fall dead, and the third dangerously wounded ! The allies now shouted for joy, and discharged a few ineffectual arrows. Champlain recharged, and the other Frenchmen successfully fought the Iroquois, who were soon seen in disorder and flight. They were pursued warmly. Many were killed, and some taken prisoners. The fugitives, in their precipitance, abandoned their maize. This was a seasonable relief to the victors, for they had been reduced to great need. They fed, and passed two hours on the field of battle in dancing and singing. Not one had been killed, although several were wounded. They prepared to return homeward, for among these people, the vanquishers always retreat as well as the vanquished, and often in as much disorder and precipitation as if they were pursued by a victorious enemy. In their way back, they tortured one of their prisoners, whose miseries Champlain humanely ended. He returned to Quebec, and embarked (in September) for France. The next year he returned, and subsequently made several expeditions against the Iroquois.* In some of these he was successful, in others not.

Thus Champlain first gave to our Indians the knowledge of that tremendous means of destruction, gunpowder. This they hurled back with a fearful success upon the northern invaders of their country. For within a very few years after Champlain first fought them, they suddenly appeared in arms, in the very heart of the French colony. The acquisition of fire-arms enabled them also to rise victorious over neighbour-

* See *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*. Paris. 1613. Charlevoix, tom. I. A Paris. 1744. p. 141, &c.

ing Indian nations, to extend in less than a century afterwards their territorial dominion two thousand miles, and to waste the lives of more than two millions of people !*

While the first battle between them and Champlain was raging, near the source of Hudson river, Hudson, in the same season of the same year, was engaged in discovering and exploring that river ; and on his return in September, was engaged in a desultory sea-fight with the natives. He introduced, however, to the Iroquois, the knowledge of a plague, which has since proved to them as destructive as the fire-arms with which they then became acquainted, and which they afterwards directed against the French, and against remote Indian nations. It will appear probable that Hudson first introduced among them the intoxicating liquor, which the latter have so often denounced as the poison which the white people gave them.

§ 42.

At the period of the memorable event to which we have thus occasionally alluded, and to the development of which we are slowly approaching, we find that the sovereigns of England and France laid equal claims to the territory comprising our colony and state : Acadia, extending from latitude 40° to 48° , and South and North Virginia, first (1606) from latitude 34° to 45° , and by the last charter, (1620) (upon which the title of all New-England is based) from 34° to 48° , (thus taking in the whole of Acadia.) At this period also, Spain kept up a pretended paramount title to the whole. Our State, thus claimed by France and England, and by the latter, so partitioned that both the North and South Company's title entered into it, while they were not, by the charter, permitted to come within 100 miles of each other, seemed to be placed beyond the pale of settlement by those nations ; at the

* La Hontan, in 1684, puts the number at two millions ! See *ante*, p. 95.

same time, its superiority over the northern and southern regions, in climate, fertility, and central proximity to the commercial powers of Europe, rendered it the most inviting to enterprise. No wonder that the Dutch, with a characteristic sagacity, vigilance, and industry, availed themselves, after the discovery made under their auspices, of the advantages it promised by a settlement on the Hudson.

It will appear that the Dutch claimed from latitude 38 to 42° by the ocean, all adjacent islands, and northerly to the river of Canada. It will appear that they founded their claim, 1. As subjects of the king of Spain, the first discoverer. 2. By virtue of the relinquishment on the part of Spain to the united provinces as free and independent, of all the possessions in the new world, then occupied by the citizens of that republic, whereby New-Netherlands (now New-York) Curacoa, Brazille, Bonaire,* &c. became the inheritance of the Dutch nation.† 3. By virtue of the first discovery of the Delaware and New-York Bay and river by Henry Hudson, and the first actual possession and settlement thereupon.

We now advance towards those events in the contemporaneous period we have contemplated, which, if not the most illustrious in the annals of those times, will appear to our State at least the most interesting. While every republic in Europe is extinct, we at least can look back with pleasure to the existence of one, under which our State sprang into existence, and the free principles of which, cherished by the first founders of this colony for half a century, may have remotely influenced the establishment of our present free government. We recollect, with pleasure, the patriotic Stadtholder of Holland, the celebrated Maurice, who, in his devotion as a patriot, his skill and policy as a statesman, his energy and heroism

* Buen-aire.

† See negotiations upon the disputed title between the lord proprietor of Maryland and the Dutch government of New-Netherlands, to the territories on the Delaware, called by the Dutch the colony of New-Amstell, in 3d vol. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 368.

as a soldier, and his attainments as a scholar, is justly entitled to be ranked with his illustrious contemporaries, Henry the Great and Queen Elizabeth. The discovery of New-York by Henry Hudson, which took place during his administration, and in the very year that Spain treated with the United Provinces on the basis of their freedom and independence, was an event which comparatively passed unnoticed in Europe, but which, in its consequences, has proved of vastly more importance than the termination of the race of English monarchs in the death of Elizabeth; the assassination of Henry the Great, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, which at that time excited infinitely more attention, and greatly affected the political relations of Europe.*

That gallant and enterprising people, under whose auspices this discovery was made, will ever receive from us the tribute of gratitude to which they were pre-eminently entitled. True, they were indebted to England for a navigator, whose skill and courage conducted the discovery; but it will be remembered that England, as well as Spain and France, were, in this particular, compelled to bow to the superior genius of Italy.

The Dutch provinces had just emerged from a long, bloody, but brilliant contest for liberty, and for conscience. Occupying a territory less than the limits of this State embrace, she attained a political rank among her neighbours, at once commanding and distinguished.

“After having beaten down and broken for ever the colossal power of the Spanish monarch,† the Dutch republic continued for nearly a century to hold the balance of European politics with a strong and steady hand; and when the rest of the continent crouched under the menaces, or was bought by

* See Vol. III. N. Y. Hist. Coll. 37.

† See a well merited eulogium on our Dutch progenitors by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. in an Anniversary Disc. before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. Dec. N. Y. 1818, from p. 59 to 72.

the gold of France, she stood alone and undaunted, defending the liberties of the world with a perseverance and self-devotion never surpassed by any nation. During the same period, she had served the cause of freedom and reason in another and much more effectual manner, by breaking down the old aristocratic contempt for the mercantile character ; and her merchants, while they amazed the world by an exhibition of the wonderful effects of capital and credit, directed by sagacity and enterprise, and operating on a vaster scale, than had ever before been seen, shamed the poor prejudices of their age out of countenance by a high-minded and punctilious honesty. It was about this same remarkable period of her history, that Holland produced many of the most illustrious men of modern Europe," in arms, in philosophy, in literature and the fine arts, in jurisprudence and political economy. The internal administration of her affairs was conducted by an industry, economy, and wisdom, which elevated the republic to a glorious prosperity.* Such is the country to which we are indebted for the first discovery of our State, and to which we may revert with pride and gratitude, as our first colonial parent.

§ 44.

To develop the political relation which gave to the republic of Holland the pretended territorial claim of the monarchy of Spain ; to explain the causes that induced the employment of Hudson by a recently established Dutch East India Company ; to trace the character of the first trafficking visits made to the river Hudson, under a privileged trading company, and unfold the nature of our first proprietary government during half a century, under the privileged Dutch West India Company, it may not be unimportant, as a preliminary step, to

* See Mr. Verplanck's Address.

take a hurried sketch of the origin, policy, and condition of the republic.

During the ascendancy of the Dukes of Burgundy, who, in the fifteenth century, enjoyed dominions worthy of the regal title, Netherlands (the seventeen provinces) became the great mart of commerce in the west of Europe, and was distinguished by opulence and the arts. With the heiress of Burgundy, they passed by marriage to the house of Austria. Charles V. in 1549, with the consent of the states of the provinces provided, by irrevocable edict, for the regular succession of the reigning prince. Philip of Austria, and Charles his son, being natives, treated the people with affection, and allowed the states a participation in supreme authority. Philip II. born in Spain, departing on the abdication of his father, from his generous sentiments, and from the mildness of his predecessors, occasioned an insurrection by his cruel and arbitrary conduct. In attempting to restrain its progress, and that of the reformation, he precipitated the country into a civil war. Seven of the provinces, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Over-Yssel, and Guelderland, having revolted from Philip in 1566, carried on a sanguinary, but intermitted, contest for thirteen years before they confederated. The Prince of Orange had early retired into Holland, and devoted the energies of his patriotism in their behalf. In 1579, the deputies of these states assembled at Utrecht, and united in a confederacy on conditions which rendered their union indissoluble. It was founded upon the infraction of the pacification of Ghent, which had been solemnly acceded to by Philip, and upon a recent invasion of certain towns in Guelderland. It was not intended to divide them from the nineteen provinces, or to renounce the pacification, but to preserve the liberty thereby stipulated, by vigorous operations and united councils. This was the basis of that commonwealth, which became the renowned United Provinces.

The articles of their union, sketched out by the patriot Prince of Orange, were universally approved, and many ci-

ties, towns, and distinguished persons, soon subscribed the alliance. Two years afterwards, (1581) they took the last decisive step, declared that Philip had forfeited the sovereignty of the Netherlands, conferred it on the brother of Henry III. next year solemnly acknowledged him Duke of Brabant, and thus, by the aid of the French king, so secured, and by the succours of Elizabeth, who was also interested to diminish the Spanish power, they prosecuted the war vigorously, but with various success. This infant republic bore on her first coin, the emblematic motto, "*Incertum quo fata ferant.*" The device was, a ship labouring amidst waves without sails or oars. The impolicy of the Duke of Brabant precipitated the misfortunes of his troops. He returned to France in shame, and died 1685. Frederick William, acknowledged Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, was shot by an assassin, supposed to have been suborned by Spain. Maurice, one of three sons, at eighteen was invested by the States with his father's titles. Queen Elizabeth, at their request, appointed a governor for his minority, who, being recalled in 1587, left young Maurice at the helm of state, which he directed for thirty-eight years,* with a spirit, skill, and effect, that ranked him among the first as a statesman and scholar, and the most renowned champion of his age. To the vigour and enterprise of youth, he united the caution and vigilance of age and experience. Not satisfied with an independent state, and a defensive war, the confederacy pursued the Spaniards into the remotest recesses of their extensive territories, and grew rich, powerful, and terrible, by the spoils of their former masters. The Portugeuse, in the meridian of their prosperity, had become merged in Spain. They had been struck down by one of those fatal blows, which, given at a critical moment, decides the fate of kingdoms. Possessing empire and commerce in Africa, Arabia, India, the isles of Asia and South America, they lost their liberty, being absorbed in the Spanish dominion, in consequence of the death of John Sebastian, one of their greatest

* He died in 1625.

princes, who lost his life in an expedition against the Moors. On these extensive possessions, the Dutch fell, wrested their fortresses in the East Indies, and turned their arms upon Brazil.

Before the revolt, the subjects of the low countries, by the policy of Charles V. and Philip II. were prohibited from trading to the Indies, except in Spanish fleets and under Spanish covert. Yet many who had made these voyages, became skilful pilots, and were sensible of the gains of that trade. After the union a greater confluence of people coming into the united provinces than could manage their stock, or find employment at land, multitudes turned their enterprise to the sea; and having lost the trade of Spain and the Streights, fell not only into that of England, France, and the northern seas, but ventured upon that of the East Indies; at first with small forces and success, but in course of time, and by the institution of the East India Company, this came to be pursued so generally and advantageously by the provinces, that they made themselves masters of most of those colonies and forts of the Portuguese, who had thus become a part of Spain. The Dutch seamen grew well acquainted with those vast seas and coasts, and Holland became the great magazine of all the commodities of those eastern regions. In the West Indies their attempts (except that upon the Portuguese possessions of Brazil) were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the Spanish plantations there being too numerous and strong; but by the multitude of their shipping, set out with public or private commissions, they infested the seas, and began to threaten the Spanish Indian fleets and attempt their coasts, which touched Spain in the most sensitive part, and gave her court the strongest motive for peace which she solicited. Fearful also of the loss of her maritime forces, after the signal victory in 1608 over her fleet, under Don Juan Alvarez D'Avila at Gibraltar, by the republican fleet under James Heermiskirk, she became more urgent, and Holland, after protracted negotiations, was induced, through the mediation of England and France, to conclude with Spain and the Arch

Duke Albert (1609) a truce for twelve years, but on no other basis than as a free and independent republic. On the expiration of the truce (1621) the war was renewed. At length, by the treaty of Munster, (1648) Spain acknowledged the independence of the States General. Other powers had also gradually done so from the first alliance of the states with Elizabeth in 1598.*

The Spanish Colossus having been prostrated by the republic of Holland, she held the balance of European power, sustained single-handed the liberties of the world, displayed prodigies of valour and commercial enterprise, and continued in the course and progress of her greatness, to shine like a comet, until (in 1672) she suddenly fell like a meteor. Paradoxical as it appeared, she flourished most in the midst of bloody and expensive wars, and declined fastest in profound peace; and fell when the genius of her native subjects had been wholly diverted from arms to traffic and the arts of peace.†

The theory and practice of this confederacy had been briefly this: The union of the seven sovereign states first chose their deputies for composing three colleges, called first, The States General; second, The Council of State; third, The Chamber of Accounts. Each of the seven republics retained its own states, consisting of nobles and burgesses, and styled "noble and great mightinesses." Each republic was independent of the others, but neither could contract foreign alliances or declare war without the concurrence of the others. Each town was, with respect to its province, what the province was with respect to the aggregate body of the republic, that is, free and uncontrolled in its local government, but depend-

* Anquetil Sum. of Univ. Hist. Vol. VIII. p. 377, 382. Rees's New Cyclopædia. Holland, Netherlands. Account of Europ. Settlements in America, Vol. I. Temple's Obser. on United Provinces. Mezeray's France, 909, 932. Grotius. Pinkerton's Geog. Vol. I. Mod. Un. Hist. Vol. XXVII. XXVIII. Corps Diplomat. Vol. V. p. 282. Vol. III. p. 516.

† Account of Europ. settlements in America, Vol. II. p. 17. Sir Wm. Temple's Observations on the United Provinces, seventh edit. London, 1705, p. 261.

ent on the provincial council in every thing that concerned the common interests. The sovereign power effectually lay in the States General, styled "high and mighty lords," and "high mightinesses," consisting of deputies from each province, chosen from the *noblesse*, who were termed the "Equestrian Order," and from the burghers.

Each province sent as many deputies as it pleased, but this made no difference, as all matters were carried not by votes of persons, but provinces. Some provinces sent deputies for one year, some more, others for life. The provinces of Holland sent one of their nobles who was perpetual; two deputies chosen out of their eight chief towns, and one out of the North Holland, and with these, two of their provincial Council of State, and their pensioner, who was the Grand Pensionary of Holland, that presided formerly in the provincial states, and Council of Deputies of that country. The States General was convoked by the Council of State, but as they usually consisted originally of eight hundred persons, the ordinary council, called the *States General*, was at length formed, and sat constantly at the Hague, representing the sovereignty of the union, forming a sort of congress, giving audiences and despatches, to foreign ministers, or appointing and receiving them; enjoining the right of war and peace, naming the greffier, or secretary of state, and all the staff officers; but it was in fact a representation only of the States General, (the assembling of which came wholly to be disused) and seldom exceeded twenty-six deputies: subordinate and responsible to those were the council of state, admiralty, and treasury. The council of state consisting of twelve deputies, presided each a week in turn, met daily at the Hague, directed domestic affairs, especially subsidies, fortifications, finances, and other matters of police. In the States General every province presided its week's turn. The president proposed all matters, made the greffier read all papers, put the question, called the voices of the provinces, and formed the conclusion. Or if he refused to conclude according to the plurality, he resigned, and the next week's president concluded for him. But in case

of peace and war, foreign alliances, raising or coining money, determining the privileges of each province, or member of the union, a plurality was not enough, all must have concurred. And as the Council of States General formed a sort of congress only representing the sovereignty; therefore, in case of choice, &c. of ambassadors, the states of each province through their deputies were consulted, and in other important matters the Council of State was also consulted. Originally, when a deputy did not conceive himself sufficiently authorised by his province for the decision of any affair, he was obliged to go and communicate it to his constituents, and receive new powers. This greatly protracted their proceedings.

The Stadtholder was originally a kind of dictator, appointed from the necessity of the times to conduct the emancipation of the state. When that necessity vanished, the office was of dubious authority, until in 1672, when William III. procured it to be declared hereditary. The duties and powers of this officer were to watch over the police, attend to the preservation of the power, privileges, and rights of each province, give his aid to the law, and protect the established and reformed religion. Neither the Stadtholder, Governor, or any military person, could sit in the States General. The Stadtholder was allowed to attend the assembly and bring forward propositions. All favours were granted in his name, but with the consent of the states. He alone was commander of land and naval forces.*

§ 45.

It was as early as 1594, while the provinces were convulsed by war, while battles were fought, towns taken and pillaged, the open country ravaged, and the storm raged with various and doubtful success—it was during this period, while the renowned Maurice commanded with so much bravery, skill, and address, that commerce assumed its greatest activity, and

* Authorities, *ante*. p. 138.

the appetites for trade and adventure became the keenest and sharpest. It was this very year, when Philip expected, by a stroke of policy, to enforce their submission, when after he had long excluded (except in Spanish vessels) his Netherland subjects from the commerce of the east, that having now laid an embargo upon their ships, seized their effects, imprisoned their persons under pretence they came from the enemy's country, exposed them to the rigour of the inquisition, and sometimes kept them in his service, that some merchants, to avoid these multiplied oppressions, formed a private company and determined to open a north-west passage to India, from which they had been so unjustly excluded by Charles V. as well as Philip; whose restrictive policy they would have still put up with, without any thought of extending, by a forced trade, their navigation beyond the Baltic and Mediterranean, had it not been for the Spanish severity thus exercised.

Their first enterprise resulted in events unforeseen and accidental; for it laid the basis of the power and splendour of Holland in the east and in the west. It led to subsequent voyages and the formation of new companies, the establishment of that of the East Indies, and consequently the eastern Dutch empire, the main pillar of their glory and prosperity; and as it prepared the way for the employment of Henry Hudson and the establishment of the West India Company, it was the remote foundation of the colonisation of this State, by the frugal, diligent, and enterprising citizens of the Dutch republic.

These merchants, thus animated with a desire to make trade flourish, submitted propositions through Balthasar Maucheron of Zealand (the head of the society) to the states and Prince Maurice, high admiral, for liberty to explore the north passage, and received a commission.

The "first voyage of the Dutch and Zealanders by the north, along the coasts of Norway, Muscovy, and Tartary, in order to seek a passage to Cathay and China," was conducted under command of William Barentz and James Heermiskirk. The latter was the same naval hero, who, twelve years after

acquired so great a reputation in the celebrated naval combat in the bay and under the cannon of Gibraltar.* Having now sailed northward, the vessels separated, and that under Barentz went farthest. They penetrated along Novaya Zemlia, gave name to the Bay of Lomís,† sailed towards Admiralty Isle, arrived at *Swarthock*, or the Black Cape, in $75^{\circ} 29'$, and afterwards at William's Isle, at the distance of eight leagues, in lat. $75^{\circ} 55'$, sailed to and named the Isle of Crosses (on account of two great crosses discovered thereon) thence to Cape Nassau, in $76^{\circ} 30'$, they proceeded as far as $77^{\circ} 45'$ till they were stopped by ice, then penetrated to the most northern point of Novaya Zemlia and Orange Isles, and thereupon returned home, and reported that there were hopes of finding a passage by the Strait of Nassau.

The States General and Prince of Orange, now equipped seven vessels in 1595, under the same commanders, for the purpose of sounding this passage for discovery and for trade. Six were laden with merchandise. Merchants sent goods free of exports or custom duties. The seventh was a yacht to return with news. The prince ordered them to pass the Weigats, and sail towards Cathay and China. They left the Texel in June, were gone four months, visited the Samoiedes, lost two men by bears, endeavoured to penetrate the sea of Tartary, were impeded by ice, and returned. The same year, certain merchants at Amsterdam (including some of the first private company) formed another, called "The Company of Foreign Countries." Having, it is said, learned from a Hollander (who had been in Portugal, and there obtained his knowledge) the condition of the East Indies, and a passage thither, they sent four vessels to India, by way of the Cape, which, after an absence of two years and four months, returned richly laden.

Before their return, the second northern voyage had ended as above, and a third was contemplated. Their high mighti-

* See *ante*, p. 187.

† On account of the birds seen there, which appeared very heavy. *Lom*, in Dutch, signifies heavy.

nesses were unwilling to countenance the attempt, but decreed that if there were individual cities or corporations willing to bear the expense, they might, and if successful, the states would make a stipulated recompense. The council of the city of Amsterdam not being discouraged, ordered two vessels to be equipped at the commencement of 1596, under the same commanders, with the addition of J. C. Ryp. They went as far as eighty degrees, which was further than had been explored, to the northern part of Norway; wintered in Nova Zembla in lat. $75^{\circ} 58'$ were exposed to imminent perils, and suffered incredibly from ice, inclemency of weather, ferocity of bears, and failure of provisions. Having remained till June 1597, finding it impossible to disentangle their ship, which had been frozen in and blocked up by ice, and having prepared their shallop and schuyt (two little open vessels) they put to sea, coasted Russia and Lapland, and at Cola obtained a passage to Holland.*

After this, the four ships having returned from the Indies richly laden, so animated the "Company of Foreign Countries," and other companies that sprung up, that the next year, (1598) and during three years after, the voyages were repeated, until the competition between the different companies, arising from their sending goods to the same market, and thus lessening their value, threatened to injure the trade, and therefore the States General called a meeting of the directors of all the companies, obliged them to unite in one body, and confirmed them by patent as the East India Company for twenty-one years, March 20th, 1602.† Their joint stock was six millions, six hundred thousand livres, and they sent fourteen great ships in June following. From this till 1609 several fleets of East Indiamen sailed.

* See these three northern voyages at large in Vol. I. Pinkerton's Collections. p. 81 to 127, newly translated from "*Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes orientales.*" They are also in "*Collections of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company, translated from the Dutch.* London. 1703.

† The patent when expired, was renewed for like term.

Such was the flourishing condition of the company, that from 1605 to 1609 inclusive, its dividends for those years were 15, 75, 40, 20, and 25 per cent. and after the truce had been proclaimed this year, (1609) its dividend the next was 50 per cent, and voyages became so common that in two years only (viz. in 1613 and 1614) nearly twenty-seven ships at several times were fitted out. (122)

Notwithstanding the failure of the first northern voyage, (1595) yet the navigation it described was, as we before suggested, the first instigation given to the United Provinces to go in quest of those rich regions in the east, of which they afterwards acquired the possession. (123) Subsequent causes combined till the whole resulted in extending their commerce to the four quarters of the world, in consequence of the creation of three companies, each a republic within itself, having its own laws, revenue, officers, marine and landed forces. 1. The East India Company, whose formidable empire was not the least brilliant ornament that adorned the history of the seventeenth century. Its commerce extended over Asia, and its representatives in India appeared in the pomp of oriental magnificence. 2. The West India Company who traded to America and Africa, and founded colonies. 3. The Surinam Company which, though the least considerable, carried on a pretty general trade into every quarter. Its centre was the city of Amsterdam.

But their East India establishments and colonisation in America were events which, while they laid the foundation of the glory and prosperity of the republic, resulted from accident, certainly from no premeditated place or design. This we have already seen was the fact with regard to the first, and we shall see, in the course which Hudson's voyage took, that it was so with respect to the second, so far as the discovery and colonisation of New York contributed to that glory and prosperity.

These events are classed with those astonishing incidents, that result at times from causes which apparently are the most inadequate to produce them. In fact, whether in navigation,

the arts, or experimental philosophy, few discoveries have been the direct result of efforts founded in reasoning *a priori*. The first hints were accidental, and discoveries far different from those sought, voluntarily presented themselves, while others eluded research or baffled experiment. (124) The voyages to discover a northern passage, have uniformly afforded the most memorable illustration of the truth of this observation.

§ 46.

Although the three northern voyages by the Dutch had failed, still the passage was considered practicable. New routes were suggested,* and faith in the project continued to prevail in Holland as well as in other countries in Europe, but in the former, no new experiment was made until the appearance of Henry Hudson, with the experience of two voyages in the English service, and with the reputation of a navigator of comprehensive views and dauntless perseverance.

A northern passage had indeed been the favourite problem from the days of the Cabots. Under the patronage of kings, or the liberality of capitalists, or from the impulse of private adventure, this project had been over and over attempted, but it had invariably terminated in a manner different from what had been anticipated by either the employers or the employed.

After that of the Cabots in 1497, Gaspard Cortesius (or de Cortereal) in 1500, made an unsuccessful voyage, the next year another, and perished. His brother Michael afterwards shared a like fate. Cabot in 1506 was again impeded by ice. Varrazano, after his voyage of 1524, landed at Cape Britain, and, with his crew, was devoured by savages. Sebastian Gomesius took the same route in 1525, and all the honour he

* For instance by the learned Isaac Pontanus. See *Receuil des Voyages*, &c. Tom. I, p. 254. Vol. I. Pinkerton's Collections 127.

acquired was to bring away a few savages. Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 sailed from England, penetrated to seventy-two degrees, where he and his crew perished. Three years after, Stephen Burrough discovered Galgorevia, Novaya Zembla, &c. but the cold forced him back. Martin Frobisher, Arthur Pet, Charles Jackman, and John Davis of the same nation made similar attempts. After Davis's third and last voyage, (1587) and after the three Dutch voyages had failed, the King of Denmark, induced by the fame of northern discoveries by other powers, ordered a voyage to be made. English navigators being thought most skilful and experienced, he appointed in 1605 John Knight and James Hall to command the expedition. Captain Hall was in the Danish service from 1605 to 1607. In his last voyage, the crew mutinied, and he was obliged to go to Iceland. One account says he was afterwards killed by a Greenlander. Capt. Knight did not enter the Danish service, but that of the Russia and East India Companies, (1606) and was, with part of his crew, massacred by the savage Esquimaux.*

In 1607, a London company having associated for a similar purpose, had the honour of first introducing to the world the man, whose fame afterwards transcended that of all his predecessors in this noble but dangerous enterprise : a man, whose name has been geographically commemorated to posterity by a strait, bay, river, and city.

In England, among those whose knowledge and spirit made them competent judges and lovers of such undertakings, the rational hopes of this grand discovery, notwithstanding so many disappointments, seemed to grow greater by every attempt, and to spring up out of every failure. (125) The voyages of Captain James Lancaster in 1591, 2 and 3, to India by Good Hope, had shown the possibility, but the difficulties also, of the passage. Lancaster sailed again to the East Indies in 1601,

* See Pinkerton's Collec. Vol. I. Forster's Northern Voyages, 317, 320
Receuil des Voy. &c.

in a fleet belonging to the newly established English East India Company, and returned in 1603, with great riches. Sir Henry Middleton and Sir Edward Michebown returned safe in 1606, each of them also with a very richly laden fleet. It might have been imagined that these successful expeditions would have stifled the passion for a passage to the north; but they did not, neither could all the former failures produce that effect. The passage was still deemed discoverable under a man of skill and resolution. Accordingly, a society of wealthy and resolute men in London, aware of the advantages which would result from the discovery, with surprising liberality, furnished the means necessary for three expeditions.* This society was composed of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Master John Wolstenhome, Alderman Jones, and others. To the command of these expeditions was appointed Henry Hudson. It was resolved to search for a passage by three different routes, north, northeast, and northwest. These routes were explored by Hudson† in three voyages, two of which were performed in 1607 and 8, (before his discovery of New-York) and the last in 1610. The journals of these voyages are extant.‡ That of the first was written partly by him, and partly by one of his company. Those of the second and the last (until his disastrous fate) by himself.

§ 47.

Of Henry Hudson's parentage, connexions, and education, biography is almost silent. He was a native of England, a

* Forster's *North. Voy's.* p. 323-4, who says the names of the gentlemen who employed Hudson, have not been transmitted. In this he seems to have been mistaken. Their surnames he mentions after the conclusion to his account of the voyages they set on foot, p. 352-7, and they are given at large in Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, b. 8, c. 3, § 6.

† See Forster, p. 323, 352-7. Belk. *Am. Biog.* Vol. I. p. 394-5, &c.

‡ In Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, Vol. III. p. 567, 610. Lond. 1625, and in Vol. I. *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* p. 61 to 150. Dr. Forster, p. 323-4, says Hudson's journals have not been transmitted. In this he appears to be mistaken.

navigator of enlarged views and long experience, of a bold and penetrative capacity, unwearied in assiduity, and invincible in intrepidity. He early entered the school of maritime experiment, and he ranked with the most distinguished seamen who flourished at the period when he did. He was intimate with the famous Captain John Smith ; and in courageous adventure, patience under privation, presence of mind amid peril, and unshaken constancy in perseverance, his character strongly assimilated to that of this distinguished founder of a Virginia colony. He had a family, and kept a house in London ; but who was the woman that shared his glory and mourned his fate, is not known. His only son, a youth, was with him during all the voyages of which we have any record, and he perished with him in his last. But so little has been preserved illustrative of his private life and condition, that we are left to contemplate the brilliant career of his public usefulness alone. He seems to have been one of those originals who have at times suddenly appeared before the world in the vigour and maturity of unpretending merit, to whom, therefore, the meed of public admiration has been proportionably awarded. Like Demosthenes, Shakespeare, Franklin, and a long list of orators, statesmen, poets, and philosophers, who derived no claims from birth ; or, rather, like individuals of his own profession, Cook, Anson, Drake, Hawkins, Nelson, and others, who received no adventitious aid towards the attainment of eminent distinction, from the aristocracy of family or of wealth, but self-taught, self-elevated, and self-sustained, Hudson was the sole architect of his celebrity, and we shall see how dazzling was his career.

His first voyage was in 1607. The company having fitted out a ship, Hudson and his crew, after they were prepared to sail, pursuant to the then custom of seamen, went to church, and partook of the sacrament. (126.)

With eleven persons, among whom was John Colman, who, it will appear, lost his life after entering the waters of our State in 1609, Hudson sailed from Gravesend on the first of May, proceeded to the eastern coast of Greenland, north lat.

70°, and with great intrepidity endeavoured to approach the pole. He designed to explore the whole coast of Greenland, supposing it to be an island, and pass round it to the north-west, or else directly under the pole, but he was obstructed by extensive fields of ice. Although these insuperable barriers prevented him from proceeding beyond the 82d°, yet he shaped his course once more towards Greenland, in hopes to find a passage, and return by Davis' Straits, but the ice prevented. He was doubtless the first navigator who advanced beyond 80° northward.* To him is awarded the honour of discovering Spitzbergen, and more of the coast of Greenland than was previously known to Europeans. He arrived in the Thames on the 15th day of August. In this voyage was evinced the daring spirit and unshaken fortitude of Hudson. Although he did not succeed in securing to the company the prime object of their wishes, yet his voyage opened the whale fishery to the commercial spirit of the English, and the members of the association were not deterred from resolving upon another effort.*

Accordingly, the next year the same association prepared another expedition. Hudson's crew now consisted of fourteen. Among these was his mate, Robert Ivet,† (who afterwards accompanied him in his discovery of our bay and river, and who will appear unfortunately among the mutineers, whose story will be told in the fourth and last voyage of this renowned discoverer.)

On the 22d April, (1608) they set sail from St. Katherinès,

* See *ante* p. 193.

† See Journal in Samuel Purchas his Pilgrimes, Vol. III. p. 567. N. Y. Hist. Coll. V. I. p. 61, and see Purchas his Pilgrimage, b. 8, c. 3, § 6. Forster, 326, 7. Belk. V. I.

‡ In the orthography of the original journal, and old writers, the name stands "Iuet." *u* in those days was put for *v*, as in *have* for *have*. Washington Irving (in Knickerbocker) and some others (see Vol. I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. 29 n.) render it Juet. Ivet seems most correct, and Forster, and some others, have so understood it.

and on the 20th of May, were in $64^{\circ} 52'$. They advanced no higher than $75^{\circ} 30'$. After several vain attempts to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, they found the season so far spent, and the winds so contrary, that they were unable to penetrate the Strait of Weygats, or Lumley's inlet, but returned to Gravesend on the 26th of August.* The most remarkable incident of this voyage was the appearance, by the side of the ship, of a mermaid in a high northern latitude. (127)

§ 47.

On the failure of this expensive voyage of four months, the company suspended their patronage in favour of northern adventure. Hudson, whose element was the seas, whose pride was to brave their dangers, whose ambition was the glory of achieving what so many had lost their lives in attempting, was too impatient to await the revival of that liberal spirit which had so eminently distinguished this association. He went to Holland ; he entered into the service of the celebrated Dutch East India Company.

At a time when it became the interest of the British nation to press their claim to a territory, which France, their hereditary, and Spain their covert, enemy, contended for, but which the citizens of Holland had not only settled, amidst perils too formidable for their friends and allies, the English, to encounter, but had secured, by a pacific and prudent policy towards the natives, then it became necessary for English writers to give every possible colour of right, in vindication of a dormant claim, which the lapse of time, and the peaceable possession of the Netherlanders, it may appear hereafter, ought to have silenced for ever. We speak not now of the conven-

* See a journal in Purchas, and 1 N. Y. Hist. Coll. 81, 102. Belknap (Vol. I. Amer. Biog.) appears to have mistaken dates.

tional principles of international law, or the force and effect of an undefined first discovery, as displayed in the vague pretensions which those principles were brought to sanction. These will be referred to at that period of our colonial history, in which it will appear that after an occupancy of half a century by the Dutch, this colony was wrested from them by the English. It is the time of the discovery, and the agency of Hudson in effecting it, to which our attention is to be confined. With regard to those particulars, it seems that some writers of the period to which we have just referred, have placed Hudson in English service, and his discovery one year before it took place. In order to effect this, they must have overlooked the journal of the voyage as published by Purchas,* sixteen years after the discovery, and which places it in 1609. This authority was decisive, and rendered others superfluous, but contemporaneous writers also support the fact, and that Hudson was then in the employment of the Dutch. (128) Consequently, the period of the discovery, as given by William Smith, Esq. in his history of this province, was one year too early. (129.)

On his arrival in Holland, Hudson, whom the Dutch writers† denominated the bold Englishman, the expert pilot, the famous navigator, made proposals to the East India Company to renew his researches after a passage to India. Discouraged by the fruitlessness of former attempts,‡ and persuaded by the representations of their colleague, Balthazar Mouche-

* See the detailed journal in Purchas his Pilgrimes, V. III, p. 581, 595 (So in Vol. I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 102, 146.) See notice of "Purchas his Pilgrimes," and "Purchas his Pilgrimage," at the close of Vol. I. Belk. Am. Biog. p. 409, and see 408. Purchas received the manuscripts of his "painful friend" Hakluyt, who died 1616. These are the most authentic collections extant.

† Lambrechtsen in "*Kort Beschryving, &c. Van Nieuw-Nederland.*" Collect. of Voy. by D. E. In. Co. from the Dutch. Lond. 1703. p. 68.

‡ In referring no doubt to the first three Dutch voyages. See *ante-* Moucheron was one who patronized the first.

ron,* (who long before had traded at the north,†) that it would prove an useless expenditure of money, many of the directors, particularly of Zealand, would have rejected the proposition. The Amsterdam directors were nevertheless inflexible in their resolution to accept the overture; and accordingly, a small ship, called the Half-moon, was equipped, and the command intrusted to Henry Hudson. In this small vessel, with a crew of twenty Englishmen and Hollanders, that daring man undertook once more to encounter the storms, ice, and other inclemencies of the northern seas.‡ He departed from Amsterdam on the fourth, and left the Texel on the sixth of April, 1609.§

* See N. C. Lambrechtsen of Rittham, member of the Equestrian Order of the Neth. Leon. Prest. of Zealand's Soc. of Sciences, who appears to have had access to the Dutch records in Holland, and published his short description of the discovery, &c. Middleburgh. 1818. Translated, and in MS. by Mr. Vander Kemp.

† And who (says Lambrechtsen in Vander Kemp's translation in MS. note) was not only one of the first founders of the East Ind. Society, but one of the first trading merchants to Muscovy. His name is perpetuated in the Moucheron river, on which is Archangel.

‡ She is called the *Halve Maen*, (crescent) whereof captain and cargo (*skipper en Koopman*) was *Henrick Hutson* (*New Neth. Verloogh*, p. 11, 14. Printed 1650, cited in *Kort Verhael*, p. 17.) *Adriaen Vander Donck* (in "*Beschryvinge Van Nieuw-Nederlant*," &c. Print. Amst. 1655) also, as well as Lambrechtsen, calls her the Half-Moon; but in a note to MS. translation of Lamb. by Mr. Vander Kemp, it is said that this yacht is named in the Not. of the Departm. of XVII. the *Good Hope* more correctly. De Laet, Lambrechtsen, Forster, &c. calls her a *Yacht*. In Collec. of D. E. In. Co's. Voy's. she is called a *Fly Boat*, and manned with 20 men. So in Biog. Brit. art. Hudson, 1 Holme's Annals, 137 n. But Lambrechtsen says she was manned with 16 Englishmen and Hollanders. Abm. Yates, jr. (in MS. det. in N. Y. Hist. Lib.) says 18, half and half. She must have been small, or she could not have explored our river as far as it will appear she did.

§ Or 25th and 27th March (old style) according to the journal of "the third voyage of Master Henry Hudson toward Nova Zembla, and at his returne, his passing from Farre Islands to Newfoundland, and along to fortie-foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to Cape Cod, and so to thirtie-three degrees; and along the coast to the northward, to fortie-two degrees and an halfe, and up the river neere to fortie-three degrees. Written by Robert Ivet, of Lime-house."

In a month he doubled the coast of Norway, and arrived May 5th, at the height of the north Cape of Finmark, in $71^{\circ} 46'$, entered the White Sea, coasted Nova Zembla, where the ice and fogs preventing him from passing the strait of Weygats to the east. He then tacked towards Greenland. Having, in consequence of the usual barrier, (ice) failed in reaching the object of his search, he formed a design of visiting America, in hopes of making some discoveries that might prove an indemnification for his failure in the north, and at the same time gratify his love for novel adventure. Some of his sailors having been in the East India service, could not endure the extreme cold, and being of different nations, quarrelled with each other. Hudson, therefore, proposed two things to them : First, to go towards the coasts of America in the latitude of 40 degrees, trusting to some maps sent him from Virginia by Captain Smith,* who had marked down a sea, affording a passage round about his plantations into the south sea—a direction, which, had it proved as true as experience showed it to be false, would have been very advantageous, and greatly shortened the way to the East Indies. The alternative proposed by Hudson, was to find a passage through the strait of Davis, which was generally approved. So in May they sailed that way, and the last of the month arrived at one of the islands of Faro ("Farre,") where they staid twenty-four hours to take in fresh water.†

They then steered in search of Buss Island, discovered by one of Frobisher's ships, (1578) but could not discover it in the latitude laid down, and (June 3) at length they shaped their course towards Newfoundland. After being in jeopardy from ice, and the incessant violence of the winds, they finally

* According to "A Collection of Voyages, undertaken by the Dutch East Ind. Com. translated from the Dutch. Lond. 1703," p. 63, 70. The three prior northern Dutch voyages, as herein related, accord with those in Pink. Coll. and it is probable the compiler may have had access to the records of the E. In. Co. and a sight of the acct. Hudson sent them after his return.

† *Ib.* and Journal.

lost their foremast in a very great storm, and in a few days after having sailed under a jury-mast, their foresail also was split. They had run down as far as $44^{\circ} 58'$, when meeting another gale from the southeast (22d) they steered for Newfoundland. Three days afterwards, they descried a sail standing to the east, which they chased, but could not overtake ; and in the beginning of July, arrived off the banks of Newfoundland. Here they found a great fleet of Frenchmen fishing on the banks, but passed them in silence. Being soon after becalmed, they successfully fished near the bank among the cods and shoals of herring. Standing westward during the night, (9th) they spoke a Frenchmen, which lay fishing at Sable Island bank. Clearing the banks and continuing westward, they discovered the Nova Scotia coast, and at last arrived off Penobscot Bay on the 17th July. The next day they received a visit from some of the savages, who expressed joy at their arrival.*

Having rode still in consequence of misty weather, they went the day after into a good harbour in this bay, ($44^{\circ} 1'$) and remained a week.† The harbour in which they rode, is described as lying north and south a mile. The river ran up a great way, but though they anchored near the shore in four fathoms, there were but two hard by them. Hudson's first objects were to cut and prepare a new foremast and mend the tattered sails. These they went about at once, and in four days had the mast erected and rigged. In the mean time the people of the country flocked on board, and showed "great friendship, but they could not be trusted." The crew frequently went out to fish, and caught great numbers of lobsters and codfish. Two French shallops arrived, filled with

* "We gave them trifles, and they eate and dranke with us, and told us that there were gold, silver and copper mynes hard by us ; that the Frenchmen doe trade with them, which is very likely, for one of them spake some words of French."—*Journal*.

† Dr. Miller thinks the place of their arrival was at or near Portland in the state of Maine. Discourse, &c. 1 N. Y. Hist. Coll. 30.

the country people, who offered no harm, Hudson's men being on their guard. They had brought furs, with which they had proposed to traffic. From Hudson's first entrance into the harbour, it seems that strong suspicions of the integrity of the people were entertained. After the mast was erected, such were the fears of being betrayed, that Hudson and his crew kept vigilant night-watch, and observed closely where the shallops were laid. The next morning, that is, the day before they departed, they manned their *scute* with six men, took one of the shallops, and brought it on board. This was the first aggression. "Then we manned our boat* and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces or murderers, and drave the salvages from their houses, and tooke the spoyle of them *as they would have done of us.*"† This was dastardly. Whatever might have been the suspicions that drew forth the conclusion to the account of this outrage, it detracts from the high character of our maritime hero, that he should have tolerated so mean an act. Even if a prior aggression had actually been committed, if petty thefts and trespasses had provoked this suspicion, and led to this revenge, we could have wished that the noble adventurer had yet been too much superior to the former to have countenanced the latter.

After this act, they departed as far as the mouth of the harbour, and next day (July 26) set sail.‡ The English, though not the most robust, were inclined to go further. Accordingly, they continued along the main,§ passed Newburyport, were off and on two days between Cape Cod and Nantucket, grounded on St. George's bank, (Aug. 1) and three days after, (4th) anchored at the north end of the headland of the

* Says Ivet, in the journal.

† See 1 N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 30, 113. But Hudson had a turbulent, mutinous set of sailors. It is said (Coll. of Voy's. of E. In. Co. *ante*) their conduct caused many quarrels with the savages, and perhaps, in the exasperation of their feelings, Hudson could not control his men.

‡ Journal.

§ Coll. of Voy's. by E. I. Co. *ib.*

cape, where, "hearing the voice of men call, and thinking they were some Christians left on the land," they sent their boat, but found they were savages rejoicing to see them. They brought one on board, used him kindly, and replaced him on shore.*

After attempting to get to the westward of this headland, (the body of which lay $41^{\circ} 45'$) they bore to the southeast of it, and descried the next day the south point of Cape Cod. This headland was found to be that which Gosnold discovered (1602) seven years before. On the 6th, they were among Nantucket and Bowbell shoals, and two days (7th and 8th) they continued in sight of Nantucket, and came in view of Martha's Vineyard.

Thus Hudson explored the coast of Cape Cod, and the country north of it. This industrious navigator (says Lambrchtsen) although born in England, felt too sensibly his relation to the Holland East India Company, who had employed him in discoveries, to have hesitated a moment to give the name of his adopted father-land to this newly discovered country. He called it New Holland.† But not wishing to fix his permanent residence on this spot, Hudson preferred the

* "Our master gave him three or foure glasse buttons, and sent him on land with our shallop againe; and at our boat's comming from the shoare, he leapt and danced, and held up his hands, and pointed us to a river on the other side, for we had made signes that we came to fish there." The natives are said to have had green tobacco and pipes, the bowls of which were of earth, and the pipes of red copper. "The land is very sweet." *Journal.*

† Lambr. *Kort Beschryving*. De Laet in *Nieuw Wereldt*, b. 3, ch. 7, says, that when Hudson made land in $41^{\circ} 43'$ he supposed it an island, and named it *Nieuwe-Hollandt*, but he afterwards found it was *Cape Cod*. Judge Benson, in his memoir, read before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. says, the Dutch afterwards distinguished it as *Staaten Hoek*, *State's Point*; and also by its French name, *Cape Blanc*, translated *Witte Hoek*, *White Point*. But it will appear that this, as well as that part of the *West Indies* (as De Laet calls the whole country in 1625, including) from Cape Cod to Cape Cornelius, or Cape Henlopen, were embraced under the general name of New-Netherlands.

sea, taking a southwest course till he discovered a flat coast at $37^{\circ} 35'$, which he then followed in an opposite direction. In fact, having pursued his course south and west for ten days (from 8 to 18th Aug.) making remarks on the soundings and currents, taking retrograde movements as he came into the gulf stream, he at last arrived at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay on the 18th,* in the heat of August. "This (observes the journal) is the entrance into the *King's* river in *Virginia*, where our *Englishmen* are." Here, two years before, had commenced the first effectual English colony in North America. A feeble attempt at that time had also been made in the north, but after wintering, the survivors had returned (1608) to England, in despair of any colonization in that frigid region.† But hither the South Virginia Company had sent out (1607) two ships and a bark, under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, with 100 persons, among whom came Bartholomew Gosnold, the heroic John Smith, the real founder of the colony, and its two first presidents, Wingfield and Ratcliffe. Of this settlement, Hudson, it seems, was aware, from the description in the journal, as he crosses the "barre of Virginia," but for eight days he kept off, and with little intermission, experienced severe gales. The farthest he proceeded in these southern waters, was $35^{\circ} 41'$, when (24th) he was far from the land. But on the 26th, he found himself again near the land whence he had started. He might have landed and visited the Virginia colony, but it does not appear from the journal that he did so.‡

* Journal, but see 1 N. Y. H. Coll. 31.

† See *ante*.

‡ If he had gone on shore, he must have enjoyed an interval of blended pleasure and melancholy, in the novel gratification of mingling with his own countrymen in the new world, and listening to the strange vicissitude incident to their first settlement. He would have found intermission from fatigue, and the intense heat of this month in the presence and shelter of his friend Smith, (who had contributed to induce him hither) at a village which he had just founded in the forest. He would have heard in detail, the story of his captivity, escapes, and sufferings. He would have exulted with kin-

Pressing forward to the single object of his coasting visit, and aware that he was in foreign service, he chose to seek, in the satisfaction arising from a vigilant discharge of duty, and in the glory of discovering countries, an equivalent for the delights of social intercourse. He merely sent his boat and sounded the coast.* From the vicinity of the Chesapeake, he coasted Northampton and Accomac, approached occasionally into shallow water as he passed Maryland, and on the 28th of August, discovered the great bay, since called Delaware, (lat. $39^{\circ} 5'$.) In this bay he examined the soundings, currents, and the aspect of the land, but it does not appear that he went on shore. Finding shoal water and sand in the inlet, he was forced to stand towards the southeast, and in the evening he anchored in eight fathoms water.†

dred feeling in the intrepidity, address, and triumphs of his friend, amidst the distractions of a famished colony, the conspiracies of personal enemies, and the ferocious attacks and insidious policy of the emperor of the country, Powhattan. He would have heard that the colony this very year had again escaped extirpation, through the heroic friendship of that emperor's daughter, the matchless Pocahontas. He would have met his maritime friends mourning the separation of their fleet, and the anticipated loss of Sir Thomas Gates and Vice-Admiral Newport, with 150 men, women, and children, who had not been heard of since the time Hudson was passing the stormy coast of Nova Scotia, and replacing his mast in Penobscot Bay, (July.) He might, perhaps, have attended the first English wedding ever consummated in North America! As to the dispersion of the English fleet, and the shipwreck of part of it, see Vol. I. Ch. J. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, 435, 449. Prince's *Chronological Hist. of New-England*, Vol. I. printed Boston, 1736. Smith's *History* in Pinkerton's Coll. Beverly's *Hist. Virg.* 23, Coll. Beverly says, *ib.* p. 19, in 1609, the first English marriage in North America took place in Virginia.

* De Laet says, that in $37^{\circ} 15'$ he came to a black coast, along which was a bank, which, on account of its sandy appearance, Hudson named Dry Cape, "*Drooghe Cap.*"

† Vander Donck, (description of New-Neth.) speaking of the south river (that is, the Delaware) says: This is the place where the ship Half-moon first took possession, where we erected our fortress, and traded several years without molestation or intervention of any, until some Swedes, through improper ways, interfered. See description of this bay and river in De Laet *Nieuwe-Wereldt*, b. 3, ch. 11. He calls the bay "*Nieuw Port May.*"

During the subsequent week, he pursued his northward course, passing along a low marshy coast, skirted with broken islands,* and at last (Sept. 2d) espied the Highlands of Neversink.†

§ 49.

Two hundred and fifteen years ago, viz. on the 3d day of September, 1609, the first European discoverer of whom we have any knowledge, entered the southern waters of New-York. Henry Hudson, having now passed the Long Branch, sent his boat up to sound, and in the afternoon brought the Half-moon within Sandy Hook, and anchored her (40° 30') in five fathoms water. The next morning, perceiving that there were safe anchorage and a very good harbour, he proceeded further, and moored his ship within Sandy Hook Bay (or Horse-Shoe Harbour) at the distance of two cables' length from the shore.

From this time, he passed one month in exploring the extent of his great discovery. He occupied one week at Sandy Hook, and in his progress towards New-York Bay and river.

Having, on the first day of his arrival, observed "salmon, mullet, and rays," after mooring in the bay, (4th) he

* At 40 deg. 18 min. between Barndegat and Godinspunt, a good anchorage and opportunity of exploring the country and trading with the natives presented, but Hudson's curiosity was not thus to be satisfied. Lam-brechtsen.

† In approaching Sandy Hook, "*Harbour Hill*," on Long Island, and "*Neversink*," on the Jersey shore, may be seen at the distance of 24 or 25 miles. The first is 319, and the second 281 feet above tide-water. The altitude was taken by Capt. Partridge and Dr. Mitchill, in 1813. Harbour Hill had been laid down as 404, and Neversink 600 feet. Hence from a wrong calculation of distance from shore, shipwrecks had been the consequence. These hills are supposed to be of alluvial formation. See Dr. Mitchill's *Geology of N. Amer.* in Cuvier's *Theory*, p. 383. Dr. Akerly's *Essay on the Geology of Hudson river*, p. 15, 64.

sent his men ashore with their net.* According to tradition, they first landed on Coney Island,† opposite Gravesend, (Long Island) and now a part of Kings county, in this State. Here they found the soil chiefly of white sand, and on it vast numbers of plum trees loaded with fruit, and many of them surrounded and covered with grape vines of different kinds. They saw great quantities of snipes and other birds.‡

While the ship lay at anchor, the natives from the Jersey shore came on board, rejoiced at the sight of their new visitors, and brought green tobacco, which they gave for trifles. They wore loose deer skins well dressed. A severe gale arising in the night, the ship was driven on shore, but the next morning (5th) on return of the flood tide, the ground being soft sand and ooze, she was got off without being injured.

This day the boat proceeded to sound the bay, and its crew went on land. The shores were lined with men, women, and children.§ The visitors ventured some distance into the woods of Monmouth county, New-Jersey, but were treated kindly. Among the presents they received, were sweet dried currants,|| some of which the natives also brought on board, for many of them this day visited the ship, dressed in furs, some with mantles of feathers, and around their necks were copper ornaments. Their pipes were of the same material. They were suspected, though friendly.

Hudson, discovering that the bay was the entrance to what

* "They caught ten great mullet, a foot and a half long, and a ray, as great as four men could haul into the ship." *Journal*.

† Dr. Miller in Dis. 1 N. Y. H. Coll. 31. The Rev. Mr. Abeel's acct. (MS. extract, being a part of historical manuscripts, which Dr. Miller presented to the N. Y. Hist. Soc.)

‡ *Ib.*

§ *Journal*.

|| These are supposed to have been whortleberries, or other wild kind, which the Indians were accustomed to dry. (Dr. M. *ib.* p. 31, n.)

appeared twelve miles distant from where he lay, to be an extensive river, sent his boat with five men, who passed and sounded through the Narrows, and discovered the kills between Staten Island and Bergen Neck. The lands they observed were covered with grass, flowers, and trees, as fine as they ever saw, and the air was filled with fragrance. They proceeded six miles into the bay of New-York, and then turned back. In this expedition was John Colman, an Englishman, who had accompanied Hudson, and shared his perils in his first bold attempt to penetrate the polar circle. While the boat was returning, the men were attacked by two canoes containing 26 Indians. Colman was shot with an arrow in the neck, and two others wounded. The Indians, perhaps, met them unexpectedly, were surprised and frightened, shot at them, and made off as fast as they could; for it does not appear that they attempted to take the two unwounded men and their boat, as they might no doubt have done then, or afterwards; for the night came on, the rain fell, their match became extinguished, they lost their way, and the boat wandered to and fro until the next day. After their arrival at the ship, with their slain comrade, he was interred at Sandy Hook, and the point named Colman's Point.

The boat was hoisted into the ship, and every precaution taken to guard against attack. It was expected that this first instance of hostility would have broken off all intercourse with the natives; but on the second day after the death of Colman, they brought Indian wheat (corn) and tobacco, traded freely, and offered no violence. The next day they repeated their visits, but armed with bows and arrows, and in greater numbers, with apparently hostile intention. They were not suffered to board, except two who were kept, and red coats put upon them. The rest returned, when a canoe came out with two only, one of whom was also taken with a view of keeping him with the others, probably as hostages for the good behaviour of their friends. The last one, however, jumped up and leaped overboard. Thereupon, Hudson weighed anchor, and went off into the channel of the narrows for the night.

Next day he went over towards the east sand bank, sound-ed, found it shallow and again anchored. On the eleventh, having spent a week south of the Narrows, Hudson passed through them into the New-York Bay, and finding it an excellent harbour for all winds, he remained until the afternoon of the next day. Here the people of the country came on board, "making great show of love, giving tobacco and Indian wheat, but we could not trust them."*

On the morning of the 12th, they rode up into the mouth of the "great river." Twenty eight canoes full of men, women and children, now came out, but as they were suspected of treacherous intentions, they were not permitted to come on board. Some of their oysters and beans were purchased. "Copper tobacco pipes, and pots of earth to cook their meat in," were observed among them. At noon they departed, and the ship in the afternoon went into the river two leagues and anchored. Hudson now prepared to explore the North river. It does not appear that he turned his attention at all to the East river. As his main object throughout his voyage had been a north-west passage to China, if this was still in view, he might have deemed it useless to explore a river that bore eastward.

We shall refer more particularly to the East river, the Long Island sound, Connecticut river, the coasts and islands in their vicinity, and the south river or Delaware, in our history of the progress of the Dutch settlements, during which, Adrian Block, Godyn, Cornelius Jacobszoon May, and others, in their voyages left their names to several islands, capes, and waters, some of which still retain the same.

The great river into which Hudson entered for the purpose of exploring, is now distinguished by the names of Hudson and the North river. The former was early attached to it, for although the Hollanders during the period in which they held the reigns of government here, applied to it other names,

* Journal.

such as *De Groote rivier*, on account of its magnitude ; *Mauritius river*, in honour of their Stadtholder Prince Maurice, who, as we heretofore related, flourished when it was discovered and settled ; *Manhattan river*, from a neighbouring Indian tribe ; *Noordt rivier*, in contradistinction to *Zuydt rivier*, (or South river, known also as the Nassau or Delaware river,) and “ *De Groote Noordt rievier van Nieuw Nederlandt*,” as De Laet emphatically calls it,* yet it was known by the Hollanders and others at that period, by the name which is now in honour of its discoverer invariably applied to it, except when it is intended to discriminate between this and the East river : then it is called North river. Hudson did not give his name to it ; he denominated it the “ *great river*.” It was also early known by the appellation of *Riviere des Montagnes*,† or river of mountains, in consequence of the highlands through which it ran. This has been thought to have been of Spanish origin ;‡ but Professor Ebeling§ says, that it may be a corruption of *Manat-hans*. It was also called in early times, particularly by the New-England people, *Mohegan river*,|| by reason of its being inhabited by a tribe so called, whose real name was Mohicans or Mohicanni, descendants from the Lenni Lenape or Delawares. Its Indian name was sometimes

* And makes it the head of the 9th chap. of B. 3. in his *Nieuw Wereldt*.

† And “ *Rio de Montaigne*,” according to De Laet.

‡ See N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 37 n. Judge Benson (in his memoir &c.) says, there is no trace of the Spaniards having landed in our vicinity. But he suggests as a matter of conjecture, that some of the early Spanish voyagers, (perhaps those who gave the name of *Campobello* to an island in the Bay of Fundy, *Tremont* to the peninsula of Boston, from the three eminences in it, and cape *Mallebarre* to the south-east point of the peninsula of cape Cod,) may possibly have approached so near as to discern distinctly the opening of the *Narrows*, and concluding it to be the entrance into a river, and perceiving Neversink and Staten-Island to be the only land on the coast apparently mountainous, they gave the name of the *River of the mountains*, and passed on. See ante p. 130.

§ History of America (in German.)

|| See Josselyn's account of *Voyages to New-England*, p. 245. London 1674. Douglass Seminary, &c. Vol. II. p. 256.

Shatemuck,* which may have been a corruption of its true Delaware or Mohicanni name, which was *Mahakaneghtuc*.† But the Iroquois name seems most harmonious, it was *Cohohatátea*.‡

Having alluded to Indians bordering on this river, it may not be irrelevant, as illustrative of Hudson's discovery and his progress up the river, to mention the tribes with whom he had intercourse, by the names under which they were afterwards known. The colonial relations with the *river Indians*, as they were called, and their history, will be hereafter sketched.

§ 50.

Before we accompany, therefore, our discoverer to the head of navigation in this river, we will take a topographical glance at the great bay through which he passed, the islands in its vicinity, and the Indians who then inhabited these shores, as well as those of the river Hudson.

The *Bay of New-York* is strictly that which forms the harbour of New-York ; bounded by Long and Staten Islands ; communicating with the East and North rivers, with Newark Bay through the kills, and the Atlantic through the Narrows. But the *Great Bay*, as it was in former times emphatically denominated, embosomed the waters and islands as far as Sandy Hook and the Jersey shore. The *Great Bay of New*

* Judge Benson, (in his memoir, &c.) says the name of the Hudsou was *Sha-te-muc*. He derived it in 1735, from a German settler within the limits of the Livingston manor, who was well acquainted with the Indian language, and had learned the name from the Indians in that vicinity, and particularly from the *Wicapee* Indians in the Highlands. *Shatemuck* is also mentioned as the name by Washington Irving in his *Knickerbocker* Vol. I.

† *Mahicannittuck* or *Mahicannihittuck*, the river of the Mahicanni. The Wickapy Indians (whom Judge Benson mentions, see note above) were of Delaware descent, had crossed the river and intermixed with the Mahicanni. See Rev. Mr. Heckewelder's MS. *Commun. post.*

‡ See Vol. I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 44. 37. and Heckewelder in Vol. I. Phila. Lit. and Philo. Trans. See Ogilby's map in Hist. of Amer. 1671.

Netherland, so called by Vander Donck, or by way of eminence, the *Great Bay*, was bounded* on the south by the Ocean, east by Long Island, north partly by the mouth of the Hudson, and partly by the shore of New-Jersey, and west wholly by this shore. Newark Bay, from its relative situation to the Great Bay, the Dutch called *Het achter Cul*, literally the *Black Bay*; *Cul*, borrowed from the French *Cul de sac*, was also in use with the Dutch to signify a bay. *Achter Cul* was corrupted to *Arthur Cul's Bay*. The passage from this into the Great Bay they called *Het Kill van het cul*, (the kill of the cul) which was finally expressed by *the kills*. A reef in the bay, (now Robin's Reef) not far from the mouth of the Kills, they called *Robyn's rift*, that is, *Seal reef*, Robyn being the name of seal, which frequented the bay. The passage from the bay and the river to the sound was also occasionally distinguished by them as the Great Bay, denoted from its relative situation to the other rivers and inlets to the East river. The island at the commencement of it they called *Nocten Island*, *Nut Island*, corrupted to *Nutten Island*, the name by which it was known until within the last half century, when at times it was referred to as the Governor's Island, being reserved from the beginning for the use of the Governor, and this is now its name exclusively. Staaten Island retains its name with a slight orthographical variation.†

De Laet‡ calls the bay, as named by the Dutch, Porto May, and he seems to have applied the name indiscriminately to signify the Great Bay, or the bay in its restricted and present limits.

When Hudson arrived, the Great Bay, in its more compre-

* Egbert Benson, Esq. in his Memoir read before the New-York Society in 1816.

† Judge Benson, ib. Long Island is the translation from its Dutch name. A legal name was given by an act of Assembly in 1693. viz. Island of *Nassau*. ib.

‡ In *Nieuw Werldt*, b. III. ch. 9 and 11.

hensive designation, embraced ten islands, if we may include those of the vicinity of Long Island, viz. Schryer and Coney Islands; Staten and Manhattan Islands, and those which were formerly visible within the bay or harbour of New-York.

Coney Island, whereon Hudson may have first landed, is derived from Conyn, a Dutch surname.* Sandy Hook, within which Hudson anchored and landed, and which he named Coleman's Point, was afterwards generally called by the Dutch *Sandt Punt*, was mentioned also as *Sandt Hoeck*, and for some time called by the English *Sandy Point*. Passing, however, through the *Narrows*, (called *Hoofden* by the Dutch, being their name for forelands, or literally *head-lands*) Hudson arrived and anchored in the bay of New-York, as it is now understood. If we include Red Hook as an island, (and it is laid down on charts as surrounded by water so late as the revolution) there were six islands in this bay when Hudson visited it. Nutten or Governor's Island we have already spoken of. De Laet says, that about half a mile within the Hook,† or corner of the river next to the east coast lies "*Noten Eyland*," half a mile in area, and containing many fine *nut trees*, and over against this, on the west shore of the bay, are four other small islands.‡ Two of them only, viz. Ellis and Bedlow, are now visible except at very low water, when the rocks of the others, viz. Oyster Island and Robins Reef, are discoverable. Oyster Island is in the Oyster Banks, at a small distance south west of Bedlow's Island.§ Robin's Reef we described. Ellis and Governor's Islands are the nearest of the islands to New-York, or Manhattan Island. This

* Or as it is the same as *Rabbit*, it may have indicated the existence of that animal, says Judge Benson, to whom we are indebted for the Dutch names of Sandy Hook, and Coney Island, and the Narrows.

† Red Hook.

‡ De Laet *Nieuw Werldt*.

§ This is named on Katzer's map of New-York, 1766-7. "Bedlow's or Kennedy Island," and Ellis Island was then "Bucking Island."

|| From the first on Ellis to the west battery, or Castle Clinton, the distance is 2049 yards. From Castle William on Governor's Island to the same is 1217. See Randel's map of New-York.

island, when Hudson visited it, particularly that part of it now covered by the city, presented a wild and rough aspect : a thick forest covered those parts of it where vegetation could find support ; its beach was broken, sandy, or rocky, and full of inlets ; its interior presented hills of stony or sandy alluvion, masses of rock, ponds, swamps, and marshes.

The triumph of art over this barren wild, within two hundred and fifteen years, is too apparent to require description.* The Indian name of this island, and the people who occupied that and the neighbouring country, when Hudson appeared, will be mentioned in our description of the bay and river Indians, which here follows :

De Laet, who published his "*Nieuwe Wereldt*,"† (or description of the *West Indies*, as the country was so denominated,) sixteen years after Hudson's discovery, gives a brief account of it, which he perhaps derived from that which Hudson transmitted to the directors of the East India Company after his return. He says that Hudson upon going on shore, after first coming to anchor in the bay, within Sandy Hook, found the natives standing along the shore, ranged according to the respective situations which they occupied, and singing. This corresponds with the brevity of the journal, which mentions, that on landing, the shores were lined with men, women, and children. The natives are described by De Laet as "manifesting all friendship" when Hudson first landed. They were clothed in skins of elks, foxes, and other animals. Their

* For further description of the Bay and Islands, see Spafford's *Gazetteer*, 2d edit. Randel's map of N. Y. Smith's *Hist. of New-York*. The geology of this region of the country—See Dr. Mitchill's *Geol. of N. Amer.* (in Cuvier's *Theory*) p. 386, 389. Dr. Akerly's *Geology of the Hudson*, as to N. Y. Island, p. 47, and the other islands and shores, p. 45, 22, 64, 65, 25, 26, 14, 68.

† *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschryvinge van West Indien, &c.* Door Joannes De Laet. Tot Leyden, D. A. 1625, see B. 3. ch. 7. 10. A Latin edition was afterwards published, viz. *Novus orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ occidentalis.* Authore Joanne De Laet. Antwerp. Lugd. Batav. 1633 folio.

canoes were made out of trees—their arms were bows and arrows, with sharp points of stone fixed to them, and fastened by hard pitch—they had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, some on mats made of brush or bullrushes, some upon leaves of trees—they had good tobacco, and copper tobacco pipes. After their first acquaintance they frequently visited Hudson's ship.

In an account in manuscript* by the late Rev. Mr. Abeel, (translated, as it seems, from De Laet,) he says, in reference to Hudson's visit to the New-York bay and mouth of the river, that on the point where New-York is now built, he found living a very hostile people, who would not deal or trade with him. But those living on the western shore from the Kills upward, (that is, along what are now the Bergen shores, Communipaw, Powles' Hook, and Hoboken,) came daily on board the vessel while she lay at anchor in the river, bringing with them to barter, furs, the largest and finest oysters, indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, grapes, and some apples; all which they exchanged for trifles: *Here Hudson landed.*

Although it is not improbable (as will appear hereafter,) that he should have landed at Manhattan Island, at or near the Battery, (which is in 40° 42'), yet there is no corroborative proof to be found in the journal, that the people were actually hostile. It will appear that on his return Hudson was attacked by people near the north end of the island, and perhaps the above account, giving a general view of the voyage, has confounded that circumstance with the incidents of his first entry. In his slow progress from Sandy Hook into the mouth of the river, it is very probable that he went ashore several times, but whether the remarkable scene which we shall by and by describe, and which was displayed in his first interview with the natives, took place at Coney Island, or behind the "low sandy point," (Sandy Hook) where De Laet says he landed, or upon Manhattan Island, or at Albany, will remain a subject of speculation. It may be impossible to locate the spot, and it might not be very important if we could. The in-

* In New-York Historical library, MSS.

quiry will now be, who were the Indians with whom Hudson had his intercourse during the first week of his visit, and previously to the continuation of his voyage up the river.

De Laet* says that on the west side within the Sandy Hook, between the point of sand along the bay, and along the western shore, the *Sanhikans* reside. They were deadly enemies of the *Manatthans*, and a better people than they, who were a wicked nation, for, says De Laet, they have always conducted towards the Dutch in a cruel and inimical manner. It appears that the former extended some distance beyond the Hook and Bay, for De Laet, in speaking of the South river, † (now Delaware,) says, that on this river live various Indians, as “Sauwanoos, *Sanhicans*, Minquaas, Capitanasses, Gacheos, Sennecaas, Canomakers, Naratekons, Konekotays, Matanackouses, Armeomecks,” all of the same condition and habits as those before described. Those living on the land east of the bay, viz. Long Island, De Laet names *Matouwacks*. Another Dutch author, ‡ who wrote twenty-six years after De Laet, confirms the statement by saying that the Indians called by the name of *Sankikani* when the Dutch arrived, lived on the New-York bay, on the Jersey shore, opposite Mahattan’s Island, and thence some distance up the river, lining the shore. They were deadly enemies of the *Mahattans*, though a much less ferocious and sanguinary people.

The Rev. John Heckewelder, in a manuscript communication, § says that the *Sankhicanni* derive their name from “*Sankhican*,” which signifies “*Fire-works* ;” therefore “*Sank-hi-canni*,” explains the word or name, “*The Fire workers*,” or the

* *Nieuw Wereldt*, B. 3. ch. 9. De Laet in “*Novus Orbis*,” etc. says, the Indians on the Hudson, especially the *Sankikani*, prayed to the devil, whom they called *Menutto*, vel, *Menetto*. (See hereafter Indian history.) The *Sankikani* were the *infessissimi hostes* of the fierce *Manhattæ*.

† Book 3, chapter 11.

‡ Joost Hartger, who published his work at Amsterdam, 1651.

§ In possession of the New-York Hist. Soc. and addressed to Dr. Miller, 1801. Mr. Heckewelder, says that the above account is collected from good authority, and may be relied on.

Fire work people. They and the *Wabinga*, (or *Wapinga*,) sprung from the Delawares and Munsies; but *both* living opposite the Mahicanni, on the North or Hudson river, intermarried with the Mahicanni; so that after some length of time their language had, or betrayed more of the Mahicanni, than of the Delaware. The settlements of the Wapingi were the lowermost of the *two*. They lived up the *Pachsjack*, (i. e. *a valley*,) now called *Passaick*, and on the banks of the Hudson near *Thuphane*, now called *Tappan*. The *Sankhicanni* lived higher up the river, and extended their settlements towards where Albany now is. The Dutch, in consequence of the highlands which the former people occupied, soon gave them the name of "*Hocklanders*," (i. e. Highlanders.) In the course of time, those two tribes were under the necessity of leaving their country, when they went over to the *Mahicanni*, with the exception of a few families, who again joined the Delawares, but for fear of being soon again driven from their settlements by the whites, went first to Susquehannah, and next to the Ohio.

Charles Thompson, Esq. Secretary to the first American Congress, observes* that the Wapinga sometimes called river Indians, sometimes Mohickanders, (a branch of the Delawares, or Lenape,) had their dwellings between the west branch of Delaware and Hudson river, from the Kettatinney ridge down to the Rariton. Dr. Barton,† in speaking of this account, says, that the Wapinga, whom Mr. Thompson identifies with the *River Indians*, or *Mohicanders*, (who were sometimes, as Mr. T. says, called Wapinga,) were not Mahiccans, but a branch of the Delawares. Mr. Heckewelder, also says‡ the name of the tribe, called *Wabingi*, is derived from the opossum. This animal, in the language of the Delawares, is called *Wáping*: the *Unamis*, say "*Oping*:" "*Wapingi*" signifieth

* In note 5, appendix to Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia.

† In M.S. Communication to Dr. Miller, in 1800, and among the manuscripts of the New-York Historical Society.

‡ In M. S. Comm. ib.

§ Hist. of America, in German, (New-York, p. 30.)

"the *Opossumani*." They were one of the tribes which constituted the Delaware Confederacy. Professor Ebeling, observes that the Esopus Indians, who, (as will appear in our history of New Netherlands,) gave the Dutch so much trouble by their hostility, were supposed to be *Wappinges*, or *Wampeegees*. At a still later period it will appear, that the Wappingers, as the English called them, occupied that part of the east side of the Hudson, near a hill called Anthony's Nose, in the highlands, which embraced what was called Philips's upper patent in Dutchess County, including Pollipel's island. Although formerly numerous, they had in 1767 dwindled to 227 persons. Their occupation was principally planting and hunting. The highlands afforded fine hunting ground, and the surrounding soil was excellent for planting. Their story involves much interest, and will be detailed in the progress of our history. It was their fate, though a similar fate with others, to be compelled to abandon their once pleasant *Wickapy*, (which was the name of the lands where the tribe chiefly resided,) and to seek refuge in remote, and to them, strange places.*

From these various accounts we may conclude that the Sankhicanni and Wabingi were the same people, spreading on the western shores of New-Jersey, and along the western side of the Hudson river beyond the highlands. When Hudson arrived, they were denominated Sanhikans. In the progress of settlement by the whites, they changed their habitations until they were diminished to the small remnant of Wickapy Wappingers, who had crossed the Hudson and intermixed, as Mr. Heckewelder observes, with the Mahicanni, and who finally disappeared from the banks of the river. This conclusion corresponds with that of Governor Clinton, who† says, that those Indians on the west bank of Hudson's

* See narrative of the controversy between the Wappinger tribe of Indians, and the claimants under the original patent of land in Philip's upper patent. Hartford, printed 1768.

† In discourse before N. Y. Hist. Soc. See N. Y. H. Coll. p. 41.

river, from its mouth to the Kaat's Kill mountains, were sometimes denominated Wabinga, and sometimes Sankikani, and they and the Mohegans, whose original name was Muhhekanew, went by the general appellation of river Indians, or, according to the Dutch, Mohickanders. The Mohegans were settled on that part of the east shore of the river below Albany.*

Who they were, and what Indians resided on the west banks of the Hudson beyond the Catskill mountains, or north of the confines of the Wabingi, will be mentioned after we shall have described those who lived opposite the Sankhican, upon Long Island, Staten, and Manhattan islands.

According to Mr. Thompson,† the Mahicon or Mahattan, another branch of the Delawares, occupied Staten Island, York Island, Long Island, and a part of Connecticut, and New-York, between Connecticut river and Hudson river from the Highlands, which is a continuation of the Kittatinney ridge, down to the Sound. This nation, in alliance with the Shawanese on the Susquehannah, carried on a long and bloody war with the Iroquois confederacy, who lived north of them between the Kittatinny mountains or Highlands, and Lake Ontario. This war was carried on with the greatest fury when Captain Smith landed in Virginia. The Mingos (Iroquois) had penetrated to the mouth of the Susquehannah, where in 1608, Captain Smith in one of his excursions up the bay, met their canoes and warriors.

Mr. Heckewelder‡ relates, that from the best accounts he could obtain, the Indians which inhabited Long Island, were Delawares, and those which inhabited York Island either Delawares, or the tribe called Monseys, or as they call themselves, "*Minsi*," derived, they say, from the word "*Minissi*," which signifieth a *Peninsula*. Those of Long Island, however, were early known by the denomination of *Matuwakes*,

* In discourse before N. Y. Hist. Soc. See N. Y. H. Coll. p. 41.

† In note 5. Appx. to Jefferson's notes on Virg.

‡ In MS. Commu. ib.

according to De Laet and Professor Ebeling. The remnants of this tribe are now hardly to be found.* So with regard to Staten and Manhattan islands, the tribes who occupied them, were, in the opinion of Governor Clinton,† the Mohicans, Mahatons or Manhattans. These will appear to have been the names of the same people, and originating from the Lenape or Delaware stock.

The earliest notice we have of the island which is now adorned by a beautiful and opulent city, is to be found in Hudson's journal. *Mana-hata* is therein mentioned, in reference to the hostile people whom he encountered on his return from his exploring of the river, and who resided on this island. De Laet,‡ as we before observed, calls those wicked people *Manatthans*, and names the river *Manhattes*, as we shall remark hereafter. He subsequently§ speaks of Indians residing on the east side of the Hudson river, by the name of *Mankikani*. This name, however, it will be seen, was intended to distinguish another and distinct people. Hartger|| calls the Indians and the island, *Mahattan*. Bloame,¶ names the island *Manhadæ* or *Manahanent*, and Josselyn,¶ *Manadæ*. In some of the early transactions of the colony, it is spelled *Monhattoes*, *Munhatos* and *Manhattoes*. Professor Ebeling says, that at the mouth of the river lived the *Manhattans* or *Manathanes*, (or as the Englishmen commonly called it, *Manhadæ*) who kept up violent animosities with their neighbours, and were at first most hostile towards the Dutch, but suffered themselves to be persuaded afterwards to sell them the island, or at least that part of it where New-York now stands. *Manhattan* is now the name, and it was, when correctly adopted, so

* See sketch of the first settlements of Long Island by Silas Wood, Esq. published Brooklyn, 1824.

† See his Discourse, ib. 2. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 41.

‡ In Nieuw Wereldt, 1625.

§ In Novus orbis. 1623.

|| In 1651. ante.

¶ In N. Amer. 1687, cited in Vol. I. Knickerbocker, N. Y. p. 96.

given by the Dutch*, and by them it not only distinguished the Indians, the island, and the river, but, it was a general name of their plantations. Thus to go and come, to and from the *Manhattans*, meant to go and come to and from the *whole province*, and not merely to and from that particular town which was built upon the island, which was not named the Manhattan, but New Amsterdam.†

Mr. Heckewelder‡ observes, that hitherto all his labours had been fruitless, in inquiring about a nation or tribe of Indians, called the "*Manhattos*" or "*Manathones*;" Indians both of the Mahicanni and Delaware nations assured him, that they never had heard of any Indian tribe by that name. He says he is convinced that it was the Delawares or Munseys, (which last was a branch of the Delawares) who inhabited that part of the country where New-York now is. York Island is called by the Delawares to this day, *Manahattani* or *Manahachtanink*. The Delaware word for "*Island*," is "*Manátey*:" the Monsey word for the same is *Manàchtey*. Further, *Me-neen* or *Manahn*, to drink; or *Menàchtin*, to drink—*Manachtoak*, they are drinking. He further says, the river (Hudson) according to Indian accounts, ever bore the name *Mahicannituck* or *Mahicannihittuck*, the Mohican river, the same as the river Delaware, bore the name *Lennapewihittuck*, Indian river, and both these rivers retain to this day their ancient names. But the old Mahicani had told him frequently, that their principal settlements were up the river, and in the vicinity of where Albany now is, and much higher.

Doctor Barton also has given as his belief,§ that the *Manhattæ* were a branch of the *Munsis*, not of the Mahiccans. It may be suggested in corroboration, that although the Minsi, as well as Mahicanni will appear to have been branches from

* Vander Donck adopts that name.

† See controversy with the Lord proprietary of Maryland. Vol. III. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 375.

‡ In MS. Communications *ante*. He took his notes from the Indians nearly forty years before his communications.

§ MS. Commu. *ante*.

the Lenape or Delaware stock, yet the former being the most warlike,* and the Manhattans being uniformly represented as fierce, it is not improbable that they were the same people.

Delawares† owned and were spread over the whole country, from York Island to the Potomac. They say “they were very numerous, had a great many towns, some on the above-named river, some at or near the mouth of the Susquehannah and about this Bay: a number on the *Lennapewihittuck*, (or river Delaware) and a great many in “*Scheyichbi*,” (or that part of the country named the Jerseys.) The *Minsi* always composed the frontiers, dwelling in a circle-like form from Long Island, to and beyond *Minnisink*. There were more inferior tribes, which had sprung from the three main branches (of the Delawares,‡) namely: the *Unamis*, the *Unalachtgo*, and the *Minsi*, and which generally chose to dwell by themselves adjoining them, but that though they had a number of chiefs, they had *one*, greater than the rest, and who governed them all. That at a place named “*Chichohacki*,” (now Trenton,§) on *Lennapewihittuck*, a large Indian town, had been for many years together, where their great chief had resided. That when the Europeans first arrived at York Island, the great Unami chief of the Turtle tribe resided southward, across a large stream or bay, where Amboy now is. That from this town a very long sand bar (Sandy Hook) extended far out into the sea. That at Amboy, and all the way up and down these large rivers and bays, and on the great islands, they had their towns when the Europeans first arrived; and

* See ante p. 35.

† Mr. Heckewelder, MS. *ib*.

‡ See ante p. 35, 36.

§ The Delawares say “*Chichohacki*” is a place on the east side of the Delaware River above Philadelphia, at or near a great bend, where the white people have since built a town, which they call Trenton. Their old town was on a high bluff, which was always tumbling down; wherefore the town was called *Chichohacki*, which is, the *tumbling banks*, or *falling banks*.

that it was *their forefathers* who first discovered the Europeans on their arrival, and who met them on York Island after they landed.” *

Having designated the natives, who occupied the islands in the vicinity of New-York, and the western shores of the river, when Hudson discovered it, we will now proceed to consider the Indians who lined its eastern bank.

On the east shore of Hudson river, the Mahicanni resided at the time it was discovered. The *Mankikani* and *Mahikans* of De Laet, the *Mahiccanders*,* *Mohickanders*,† and *Nahikanders*‡ of the Dutch, the *Manhikans*, *Mahikans*, or *Mohegans*, according to Professor Ebeling, and the *Mohegans*, or *Muhhekanew*, (the original name of Mohegans.§) According to the English,|| the *Mohiccans*, *Mahiccon*,¶ and lastly, *Mahiccans* and *Mahicanni*,** were all one people, originally a branch of the Delaware nation.** The *Mahiccans* and *Delawares* both say they were once one people. They were certainly once a branch of the *Delawares*, says Dr. Barton, though not comprehended by them in making up their nation. It is also evident they were one, from the similarity of their language, which, he says,†† agrees as nearly as that of the *Munses* and the *Delawares*, who are undoubtedly one. He adds that the *Mahiccans* are also the same as the *Mankikani*, whom De Laet places on the east bank of the river. De Laet, in his map of *Nova Anglia Novum Belgium et Virginia*,‡‡ calls them *Mahicans*. Mr. Thompson,§§ was incorrect in speaking

* Joost Hartger's work, printed Amsterdam, 1651.

† Barton.

‡ Benson in Memoir.

§ Gov. Clinton Dis. 2 N. Y: H. Col 41.

|| See Edwards on the Mohegan language.

¶ Ch. Thompson, Esq.

** According to Dr. Barton and Mr. Heckewelder.

†† In MS. comm. in N. Y. Hist. Library MS. case.

‡‡ In *Novus Orbis*.

§§ Note in appx. to Jeff. Notes on Virg. p. 347.

of the Mohickanders and Mahiccon as two distinct tribes.* Mr. Heckewelder† says, that he is unacquainted with the origin of the name of Mahicanni.‡ Still they acknowledge their descent from the Delawares, (or properly speaking, the Lenni Lenape) and are proud in calling these their “grand-fathers,” who were, they say, the head of a great family, extending very far to the north, east, south, and west. The fact is, the Delawares call all *nations* (except the *Mengwa*, as they, or the “Maqua,” as the Mahicanni term the Five Nations or Iroquois, and except the Wyandots or Hurons) this side of the Mississippi, and even beyond it: *all* the southern nations, *all* the eastern, and those of the Canadas, (except as above) “*Noochwissak*,” that is, “*my grandchildren*,” and these all acknowledge the Delawares their “*Mochomes*,” that is, “*their grandfather*.” The Delawares would hear with as much surprise the inquiry, whether they sprung from, or their nation had its origin in any of, those nations, as we should to hear asked, whether a father had sprung from his son.§

The best information (continues Mr. Heckewelder§) which I could procure of the extent of country the Mahicanni inhabited, was from an aged and intelligent man of this nation, whose grandfather had been a noted chief. His report was as follows, to wit: “When I was a boy, my grandfather used to speak much of old times: how it had been before the white people came into this country, (that is, the State of New-York, in which the relator was born,) and what changes took place since, from time to time. The western boundary line of the Mahicanni, was the river *Mahicannittuck*, which the white people now call ‘North River.’ Our towns and settlements extended on the east side of this river from *Thuphane* or *Tuphânné*, (a Delaware word for *cold stream*, from which the whites have derived the name *Tappan*,) to the extent of tide

* See Dr. Barton’s New Views 31, 32.

† MS. Comm. to Dr. Miller, 1801 in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Library.

‡ See Edwards on Mohegan language.

§ Mr. Heckewelder’s MS. ib.

water up this river; here was the uppermost town. From thence our towns were scattered throughout the country on the smaller rivers and creeks. Our nearest neighbours on the east were the Wampano. These inhabited the Connecticut river* downwards, and had their largest town where the sea runs a great way into the land, and where the white people have since built a town, which they call *New-Haven*. These (the Wampano) were in possession of an island, which the white people call *Rhode Island*. Adjoining the Wampano, east, were the *Munahécani*; next to these the *Paamnakto*; then the *Patachtinnau*; then the *Wawiächtenno*, and the *Machtitschwánnau*. These latter lived at or near a place on the sea, where there were a number of islands together, through which a strong current ran, wherefore they were called by this name, which signifieth the same. All these nations were with the Mahicanni like one, and assisted their grandfather the Delawares in carrying on the war against their common enemy the Maqua, until the white people had come into their country. Our grandfather (the Delawares) owned and inhabited all the country from the extent of tide-water above *Gáschténick*† (Albany) to the extent of tide-water, in a river far to the south, where a place was called *Pathámook* or *Pate-ham-mok*.‡ Clean across this extent of country, (namely from Albany to the Potomac) our grandfather had a long house, with a door at each end, one door being at *Pate-ham-mok*, and the other at *Gaschtenick*; which doors were always open to all the nations united with them. To this house the nations from ever so far off used to resort, and smoke the pipe of peace with their grandfather. The white people coming from over the great water, unfortunately landed at each end of this long house of our grandfathers, and

* *Connecticoota* (meaning *Long river*) was the Indian name.—Judge Benson in *Memoir*, &c.

† The Mahicanni word or name for *Albany*.

‡ Which is the real Delaware word, and signifies an *arrival of persons by water*. This is now the *Potomac*.

it was not long before they began to pull the same down at both ends. Our grandfather still kept repairing the same, though obliged to make it from time to time shorter, until at length the white people, who had by this time grown very powerful, assisted the common enemy, the *Maqua*, in erecting a *strong house* on the ruins of their grandfathers.”

The above figurative relation of this aged and intelligent Mohiccan, and which (observes Mr. Heckewelder*) was upwards of fifty years since† communicated to him by his grandfather, while living in the country now the State of New-York, may be considered as original. It likewise corresponds exactly with the relations of *aged Delawares*: and is in substance, after our manner of expression, thus to be understood: viz.—The Delawares were the head of *all* nations. Their inhabited territory comprehended all the country between Potomac and the head of tide-water on the North river. *All* nations, except the Mingoes and their ‘accomplices,’ were united with them, and had free access to them; or in their own words, according to their figurative manner of expressing themselves, the united nations had *one house, one fire, and one canoe*. The Europeans arriving in the country, and taking possession of the same both on the North river and Potomac, (shut up the road, or) barred the friendly intercourse of the nations in alliance with each other. Yet the Delawares upheld their national character, and remained sovereigns, until the Europeans artfully sided with their enemy, the Mingoes, for the purpose of obtaining their (the Delawares) lands. Thus succeeding, the Delawares lost this part of their territory. Their national character suffered, while their enemy was raised to a station to which they were not entitled, and which had always been considered the birthright of the Delawares.‡

* MS. comm. ib.

† But now (1824) seventy-three years ago and upwards.

‡ MS. ib.

In accordance with this communication from Mr. Hecke-welder, is another, though a more brief one, from Doctor Barton.* The Mahiccans occupied, he says, the east side of the Hudson, from a site opposite to Albany down to the Tappan sea. They were chiefly confined to the Hudson shore, or within ten or fifteen miles east of it.*

These then were the people that swarmed the eastern banks of the river when Hudson sailed by their settlements, from the borders of the Manhattans to the tide-water beyond Albany. They were so much more numerous than other Indians on the same river, that they in particular were subsequently denominated the River Indians, and the river itself the *Mohegan* river, and *Mahicannetuck* river.† It may hereafter appear probable that they had in former times reached to the head waters of the Hudson, until they met their rivals in the vicinity of Lacus Irocoisia, (Champlain) or near the Green Mountains west of that lake.† There is no doubt they once owned and occupied the Saratoga tract, now including a county of that name in this State.‡ Sketches of their history

* MS. with N. Y. Hist. Soc. ib.

† See *ante*, p. 35. 95.

‡ From the translation of the Saratoga purchase, (among the manuscripts of the New-York Historical Society) it appears that the "*Mahikend*" Indians were present at the court-house in Albany, 26th July, 1683, at the purchase of the lands at Saratoga, and saw the Mohawks receive payment, and being required to say whether they had any claim or pretension on the lands, and if they had, *they must speak then, and for ever after hold their peace*, they then declared that they desisted from all right and ownership which they formerly had to the same, referring to the discretion of the purchasers to give them something as an acknowledgment or not, *as it was their land of old*, before the Mohawks *conquered* (or won) the same from them. They also (the chiefs, sachems, &c.) signed a quit-claim or memorandum, declaring, in the name of the whole nation who might have any pretension to the same, that they would, so far as respects their nation, clear them from all demands. Whereupon the purchasers gave them seven duffels garments, as a *memorial* of the aforesaid purchase, two half casks of beer, and two kegs of wine.—Albany Records, C. fol. 290. The Mohawk Indians declare the lands at *Oniscatha* to be their property, *won by the sword*.

will be given in those of the aborigines of this State. Perhaps no nation of our native Indians have been more scattered abroad than these. Few of their descendants now occupy any portion of their original country New-York, and Connecticut. Many of them will be found to have removed from the borders of this river into the eastern parts of Connecticut, and to Stockbridge in Massachusetts. Some settled on lands which the Oneidas gave them, after the former had lost their own; others on the Muskingum river, where most of them were massacred in 1782. A few of them have been met at the mouth of the Wabash, or have settled on the banks of the Mississippi; and some families emigrated to the north side of Lake Erie on the river Thames, or the river La French.

From the preceding sketch of the Bay and River Indians, it appears not improbable, that in 1609, 1. The Mohawks occupied the western shores of the river, from the head of navigation to the Catskill Mountains. 2. The Wabingi and Sankikani thence to Amboy bay. 3. The "Matouwacks" the south-western shores of Long Island. 4. The fierce Manhattæ, Staten and Manhattan Islands, and as far perhaps on the east shore of the river as Tappan bay. 5. The Mahicanni from the confines of the last to the tide-water of the river, or as far as Troy and Lansingburgh.

All, excepting the first, will appear to have been from the Lenape stock; but the Mohawks were one of the Five Nations or Iroquois confederacy, and the enemies of those who lived on the east side of the river. The historical sketch of this confederacy will be given in another part of our history. We shall then trace* this celebrated league to its foundation, designate the chiefs who were active in promoting it, the tribes which successively united, and the memorable incidents of their progress and decline. It will appear, that like the

* From original (MS.) materials, among which are some rare specimens of Indian eloquence, particularly of the celebrated orator, Red Jacket, or, as his Seneca name is pronounced, *Sagoyewah-want-hauh*, (that is, *Keeper awake*.)

Delawares, "The Iroquois represented their confederacy under the figure of a *long house*, of which the Mohawks were the eastern, and the Senecas the western door. The Mohawk's possessions were in the region of Albany; and according to Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts, they were the terror of the tribes inhabiting the country which is now New-England. Proceeding westward, the tribes occupied the country in this order: Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas." Col. Timothy Pickering,* (who acted as commissioner in behalf of the United States in several of the public treaties held with those nations, including one at Philadelphia, where General Washington first received and welcomed the deputies of those nations,†) remarks, that "the Iroquois appear to have been distinguished for their policy as well as bravery. To conceal their own strength or *weakness*, they carried their arms into the countries of their enemies. They conquered, or in their figurative style, *put petticoats* on the Delawares, who lived in Jersey, and the lower parts of Pennsylvania, and becoming masters of the latter country, sold it piece-meal, from time to time, to the proprietaries. The last sale was to the State in 1784, which extinguished their title to all that remained of their lands within the original limits of Pennsylvania. In 1794, or at some previous interviews with the Six Nations, the interpreters informed me that there were warriors then living, who had marched the long journey through the woods, and attacked the Cherokees in their own country, although the latter, judging from their present strength, must then have been very far more numerous than the Six Nations. They showed me a native Cherokee among the Senecas, who had been taken prisoner when a child, and having been adopted by some family, was then one of the Seneca chiefs."

* From whose valuable communication (dated from Salem, Sept. 4, 1824, and transmitted through the medium of another, from the Hon. Francis Baylies of Massachusetts) the above extracts are made.

† Gen. Washington's paternal address to the Six Nations will appear characteristic.

We have given this brief extract from Col. Pickering's communication, in order to intimate, in a few words, what will appear more at large hereafter, how eventful must have been the annals of a confederacy which succeeded in humbling so extensive and formidable a nation as the Delawares, and which extended their arms from the lakes to the Cherokee country.*

That they conquered the Delawares and Mahicanni, has been the popular belief, and that they forced them to become *women*, in their figurative style, is certainly sanctioned by high authority.† But that they compelled the Delawares, by *force of arms*, to assume that neutral character, is denied by Mr. Heckewelder.‡ That the Mohawks conquered the Mahicanni, and reduced them to that condition by force of arms, although apparently not improbable from the transaction of the Saratoga purchase,§ is still made questionable by a communication|| from Col. Brandt, the celebrated Indian warrior, which, with this important and interesting inquiry, will be reserved until we speak more particularly of these aboriginal owners of the soil of New-York.

It may be further remarked, that other names of tribes on the banks of the river were early given by the Dutch, but they were subdivisions merely of the parent nations before mentioned. For instance, the "*Tappaans*" were located, according to De Laet, "on lowlands on the western shore, where the river in the midst was dry, and both sides deep water." He alludes, no doubt, to the flats in the vicinity of Tappan landing. From the name of this tribe, the Dutch gave to the Tappan Bay the name of "*Tappaanse Zee*." Vander Donck, in his map of "*Nova Belgica, sive Nieuw-Ned-*

* See *ante*, p. 95.

† See Gov. Clinton's address, V. II. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 53, 65, 71.

‡ In MS. *ib.* also in Vol. I. Phila. Lit. and Hist. Trans. of Hist. Soc.

§ *Ante*, in note, p. 230.

|| MS. N. Y. Hist. Soc.

erlandt,"* in 1656, and Ogilby, in his map in 1671,† entitled "*Novi Belgii, quod nunc Novi Jorck vocatur*," (naming the tribes from the Jersey shore to "*New Albania*," the same as on Vander Donck's map, from which the former seems to have been copied, with the exceptions of some Anglicisms) call the above tribe "*Tappans*;" the next, on the same side of the river, "*Waranawan-Kongs*;" onward, "*Wappinges*," which tribe is placed as extending on both sides of the river, and were, as we heretofore ascertained, peculiarly the Highlanders; and lastly, the "*Mackwaas*" are located near Fort "*Orangie*," and "*Colonye Renselaer's Wyck*."

So on the eastern side of the river, northward of the "*Manhattans*," are placed the "*Pachami*," some distance from the borders of the river; next, "*Waoranecks*," and lastly, above the Wappings Kill the "*Wappinges*," before named. From this location of the *Pachami*, they have been supposed to have been the Haverstraw Indians. But earlier than Vander Donck, viz. in 1651, Hartger,‡ after naming the "*Tappauns*," says, that above Brickkiln, on the east side of the river, opposite Fisherman's Course, a nation lives, called *Pachami*. Further up, another, called *Waoranecks* (or *Waorancki*) at a place called Esopus; a little further on the west side another, called *Waranawankongs*. Above Kinderhook and Sturgeon Point, and over against Fisher's Point on the east side of the river, live the nation called "*Mahiccans*," and on the west shore, near Fort "*Auranie*," live a nation, called by the Dutch, *Maquaas* or *Mohawks*, who extended as far down as "*Skatskill*" mountains, and were enemies to the Mahiccans. De Laet,§ who wrote earlier than either, says, that on the east shore of "*Fisher's Rack*," a nation reside, called *Pachami*. This rack, or course, brings the voyager to

* Beschryvinge Van Nieuw-Nederlandt. Amst. 1655. Another edition, 1666.

† Hist. Amer.

‡ Joost Hartger's book, printed Amst. 1651.

§ Nieuw Wereldt. Leyden. 1625.

another strait, where, on the west side, there is a sharp outstretching point, with some sand, and over against it a flat low land, bend, or "*bocht*," in the river, where are other Indians, called "*Waoranecks*." The place is called Esopus. A small distance upward, on the western side, live the "*Waranawankongs*," where is a streamlet. The river here is not so deep as before, and there are many small islands in it. After this, is another rack, which is called "*Kleverack*," where is more depth on the western shore, but on the eastern much sand.

The names and locations of these Esopus and other tribes, will appear important in the annals of our New Netherlands. We shall then recur to them, as well as the *racks*, that is, the divisions, courses, or reaches, into which the Dutch divided this river. It may not be irrelative at this time to take a slight view of those divisions or *racks*. Judge Benson,* says the number of *racks*, or *reaches* into which the Dutch divided the river, were thirteen. He describes three only,† as the distances denoted by the others cannot now be ascertained. Following De Laet, we will as near as possible endeavour to trace the reaches, and ascertain more precisely the residence of the tribes above named. The first‡ reach was to Tappan. The second says De Laet, stretched north-west, upward to a narrow called "*Haverstroo*."§ Then follows "*Seyl-makers Rack*," (Sail-maker's reach through Haverstraw Bay,) afterwards a crooked rack, the form of a half moon, called by us, says De Laet, the *Kocks Rack*, (Cook's reach, from Haverstraw into the Horse Shoe,) afterwards "*Hoge Rack*," from Anthony's nose,|| inclusive to West Point. And the Fox's

* In memoir read before N. Y. Hist. Society.

† Viz. Martelaer's Rack, Lange Rack, and Het Klauver Rack, which will be noted presently.

‡ Horse Reach. Judge B.

§ That is literally "*Oat Straw*," the name of arable land above Vrededeka Hook. *Ib.*

|| "*Antonie's Neus*," named after Antonie de Hooge, Secretary of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck. Judge Benson. See *ante*.

rack to the *Klinckers-berch* (hill,) (from West Point* to the head of the highlands,) afterwards the *Fisher's rack*,† (on the east shore of which reside the Pachami as before described, that is, from the vicinity of Fishkill Creek to Esopus,) which course brings the voyager to another strait, (at and from Esopus to Red Hook, landing where the *Woranecks* resided as before described,) a small distance above which, where there is a streamlet, less depth in the river and many islands, (that is from Red Hook to the Livingston's manor-house,) commences another course, called "*Kleverack*,"‡ where is more depth on the west shore, and on the east side much sand; viz. from Livingston's manor-house to the city of Hudson, and thence towards Columbia Ville) onward (continues De Laet,) we have "*backerrack*," and "*Jan Playsiers-rack*," and the "*Vasterack*," until we go up to the *Hinnen-hoeck*. All these "*racken*," are affected by sands and shallows, and the inhabitants on their shores are thereby incommoded. So on the east shore, even into the middle of the river are similar inconveniences. Then follows *Herten-rack* to *Kinderhoeck*. Here and thence the river is only five fathoms deep at the most, and the greater part two and three fathoms. Past Kinder-

* The short reach passing West Point is "*Martelaer's Rack*," the *Martyr's Rack*. Among the Dutch, *martelaer* signified figuratively, contending or struggling, as well as suffering. Those who have to contend and struggle to get through this reach, will comprehend the meaning. Judge Benson.

† Judge Benson describes "*Lange Rack*," the *Long Reach*, as that which extended from *Pollepet* Island to the short turn in the river, the *Krom Elleboog*; whence, from retaining the first part, and translating the second, has arisen *Crom Elbow*. The Island was named *Pollepel* from its resemblance to the convex side and circular form of the bowl of a ladle. *Lepel* in Dutch, is a *spoon*; a *pollepel* is a *ladle*; and particularly the one with a short handle for beating the butter for the *wafel*. The hill (1529 feet high) on the left as we leave the Highlands, is called *Boter Bergh*, (Butter Hill,) from its supposed resemblance to a *roll of butter*.

‡ *Het Klawer Rack*, the *Clover Reach*, is the reach at Hudson. The *Bluffs*, or terminations of the hills there, were called by the Dutch the *Klavers* (the *Clovers*) from their resemblance, it is said, to the clover; but whether to the leaf or the flower, is not decided. *Ib.*

hook are some small islands in the river of which one is called "*Beeren Eylandt*," there we come into a district which we call, (says De Laet) "*Ouwe Ree*," and yet further on, lies the "*Steurhoeck*," (Sturgeons point,) and next "*Vissehershoeck*," (fisherman's hook,) over against which two points on the east side of the river, the "*Mahikans*" reside. On this side lies a long broken island, through which are many little streams, so that it consists of many islands. This island stretches nearly to the island where the fort was erected in 1614.* To this the flood of the river reaches, and to this place the ships or shipping come up: further up the river is dry, so that there hardly *sloops* can sail, and from afar certain high hills are seen whence the waters of this river proceed. (130)

§ 51.

We are now prepared to trace Hudson's voyage to the head of navigation, and to designate by name the natives with whom he had intercourse. We have already followed his "*Jacht, the Halve Mane*,"† in her slow progress from Sandy Hook into the mouth of the river, where she was anchored on the 12th of September.

Vander Donck delineates upon his map, entitled "*Nova Belgica, sive Nieuw Nederlandt*," "*Sanhican*," upon the shores of New-Jersey, westward of "*Staton Eyl*," and opposite "*Port May of Godyn's Bay*," (now Sandy Hook Bay and Amboy, or Rariton Bay). Ogilby, in his map "*Novi Belgii, quod nunc Novi Jorck vocatur*," copies Vander Donck in the location of the Indian nations, from this bay to "*Fort Orangie*," or *Nova-Albania*.

When Hudson arrived at Sandy Hook, he observed the waters swarming with fish. He sent his boat manned to ob-

* That is, Fort "Orangie," or Fort Orange, which is said to have been the first Dutch settlement in this state. "The Fort (says De Laet) was founded on one of the small islands on the west shore of the river, where a nation of Indians, De Laet called *Mackraes*, live." This was *Kasteel* (*Castle*) Island.

† De Laet.

tain a supply. His men may have gone to Coney Island, where Hudson, by tradition, was first received. If so, the *Matouwacks*, who inhabited the south-western shores of Long Island, were they who first welcomed the discoverer. The death of Colman, at the entrance into New-York Bay, might be attributed to the fierce Manhattans, a branch of the warlike *Minsi*, a tribe of the ancient and renowned Lenape. The same people also approached Hudson's ship in a hostile attitude. Two of them were received on board, detained, clothed in red coats, and taken along in the ship.

Hudson having finished his interviews and traffic with the Manhattans and Sankhicanni in the Bay of New-York and mouth of the river, weighed anchor on the thirteenth, and taking advantage of the flood-tide in the forenoon, proceeded a few miles and anchored off Manhattenville, when the visits of the natives to his ship were renewed. In the afternoon, with a light wind and flood tide, he sailed as far as Phillipsburgh, (or Yonkers) and anchored for the night.

On the fourteenth he proceeded through Tappan and Haverstraw Bay, (the river being described* as a mile wide) and on arriving between Stony and Ver Plank's Point, he came to what appeared to him "a streight between two points, which trended north-east by north one league;" passing the same and reaching Peekskill, he observed "very high lands" on both sides of the river, and proceeding through the Horse race, "north-west a league and a halfe deepe water," he arrived in the direction of Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery, between Bare Mountain and Anthony's Nose. Whence directing his course "north-west by north two leagues," where "the land grew very high and mountainous,"† he anchored for the ensuing night opposite West Point.

During these two days of his progress, Hudson found much to admire in the diversified physiognomy of this wild

* In the Journal.

† Journal. "The river is full of fish. *It*

region. It appears from his journal that he was not inattentive to the rapid and astonishing elevation of a district of country which, in the course of less than sixty miles, increases from a few feet above the water level* to the lofty height of fifteen hundred feet.† Sailing leisurely, he had full opportunity to contrast the appearances of the opposite shores. On the left he had the sublime prospect of the pallisado rocks, whose dark columnar front, like a towering battlement, with here and there a projection like the salient angle of a bastion, presented perpendicular elevations from three to five hundred feet, and ranging more than thirty miles uninterrupted, (except by the valley of the Nyac) it at last exhibited an altitude of nearly seven hundred feet,‡ and then vanished from his sight, in the remote, but still more elevated range of the High Tourn and Tourn Mountain.§ On the right he beheld a comparatively low but undulating border, which, in the luxuriance of autumnal foilage, afforded a striking contrast and a pleasing relief, as he turned from the sublimity and barrenness of the opposite cliffs.

Onward he perceived the river in its first course of thirty miles, very gradually widening until it suddenly presented the broad expanse of a bay.|| Then as he passed into another,¶ and viewed the insuperable barrier of mountains that lay before him, he considered his discovery terminated, until in searching for a passage he found one which proved to be the continuation of a river, now serpentine in its course, deepening and narrowing, until it brought him to the remarkable point already mentioned.

* At Bergen Point.

† At the head of the Highlands.

‡ In the south peak of Hook Mountain, (or Vredideka Hook.)

§ The latter 1067 feet. See Dr. Samuel Akerly's *Geology of the Hudson River*, N. Y. 1820.

|| "Tappaanse Zee."

¶ Haverstraw.

In the deep solitude of this grand and romantic spot, while

“One still
And solemn desert, in primeval garb,
Hung round his lonely bark.”*

Hudson cast anchor for the night.

Without violating any rule of probability, we may imagine, that he here enjoyed one of the most picturesque, magnificent, and impressive scenes which he had ever contemplated. His was the first European ship which had been encompassed by the “*Mateawan*,”† Mountains. Ignorant of the topography of the region which he had boldly penetrated, he was surprised to find that the further he went, the mountains rose to a loftier elevation and seemed to continue in interminable perspective. He perceived the narrow stream upon which he had now entered, abruptly struggling round the angles of the hills, through broken rocks, under overhanging precipices, or along the base of perpendicular iron-bound summits, whose opposite sides indicated a former union, which some convulsion of nature had separated. A mind less habituated to firm resolve, or less familiarized to scenes of novelty and peril, would have been impressed with some emotions of fear, as well as awe, when the setting sun left the shadows of the mountains, to deepen into those of night; when the still, solemn, overpowering gloom became interrupted only by the scream of the catamount, as it leaped from the forest to the jetting brow, glanced for a moment at the ship, as its port-lights glimmered on the water, and then plunged into the thicket; or by the shrill screech of “each wild throat, in this incumbrance of horrific woods;” (131) or perhaps by the tremendous roar of the traditionary *Yagesho*, which, about this period, conveyed dismay to the hearts of the highland *Wabingi*, occasionally threw into consternation their happy settlement of *Wickapy*, roused

* Descriptive Poems by John D. McKennon, N. Y. 1802.

† Indian name of the Highlands. See their description in Spafford's Gazetteer of N. Y. 2d ed. 1824.

the stern *Mahicanni* to plan, around their council fire, the destruction of the monster,* or to seek exemption from his ferocious irruptions by imploring the interposition of their *evil Manitto*.

But Hudson had seen, if not the monsters of the forest, those of the deep. He had seen nature in her appalling array of tempest and ice, as displayed in the arctic regions. The scene now before him was more adapted to gratify his love for the romantic, than to intimidate his firmness. How delighted therefore must he have been, when the full-orbed moon rose from behind the mountains, and opened to full view this grand circus of hills. At their base lay the ship embosomed in a tremulous gleam of light. The surrounding rocks glistened with the reflected moon-beams, or presented interstices of shade and cavern, whither the grim, gaunt wolf hastened with stealthy tread, when, prowling along the bank, his glare first fell upon the alarming wonder. The forest was hushed, and its tenants mute. The mountain sides sparkled with gems and dew drops. Here a perpendicular presented—there a declivity; here terrace rose upon terrace—there rocks upon rocks; dark shadows extended down the sides of the more elevated ranges, from whose tops the clouds emerging, sailed over the open area of the vast natural amphitheatre, threw their shadows on the plains below; or crossing the ship, which lay beneath like a speck upon a bright mirror; intercepted the light of the moon, while

“Now through the passing clouds she seemed to stoop,
Now up the pure cerulean rode sublime.”†

To contemplate a night-scene of such mingled magnificence

* This interesting tradition from the MS. communications of Mr. Hecke-welder, will be found in the note to which the figure (131) refers. With regard to the Mammoth, see Dr. Mitchill's *Geol. of N. Amer.* According to him, the Walkill region is filled with organic remains, and is peculiarly the land of the Mammoth.

† Thomson's *Seasons*.

and beauty, and to enjoy the refreshing night-breeze of the season, we may presume that Hudson passed some time before he retired to his cabin.

The next morning the weather was misty until the sun arose, when the sky became clear, and the wild grandeur of the surrounding highland scenery was once more disclosed to Hudson's view.

Just as he weighed anchor to sail, the two *Manhattæ*, whom he had taken near Staten Island, and who had manifested an unconquerable restlessness in their captivity, made their escape out of a port of the ship, and swam away. After she was under sail, the fugitives hailed her in a very scornful manner. It will appear in the sequel, that they were not to be thus satisfied without seeking an opportunity of revenging this infringement on their liberty.

Having the day before sailed thirty-six miles, Hudson this day (15th) went fifty more, which by accurate measurement from West Point, would bring him to Catskill landing. In the morning, "passing by the high mountaines" of our highlands, lying between Peekskill and Newburgh,* sailing by the opposite counties of Dutchess and Ulster, and finding in his course good depth of water, such as six to thirteen fathoms, "and great store of salmons in the river,"† Hudson came at

* Hudson had now passed into the natural valley of the river. Its flow into the Highlands where salt and fresh water meet, is considered by some geologists as an arm of the sea. The country north of the Highlands is supposed to have been the bottom of a lake, the southern barrier of which was the Highlands, and the passage through them to have been caused by the shock of an earthquake. See Dr. Mitchill's *Geology of North Amer.* in Cuvier's *Theory* p. 367, 9, 335. Dr. Akerly's *Geol. of the Hudson*, p. 9, 10, 11, 39, 40, 58, 66, 67, 68. Eaton's *Geol. Surveys*, and that of *Erie Canal*. 1824. p. 152, 253.

† Whether this river abounded in salmon has been made a question. See *Intro. Dis. before Lit. & Phil. Soc. of N. Y.* May 1814, by De Witt Clinton, LL.D. note 27, p. 117. Dr. Mitchill, Vol. I. *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* p. 33, & 42.

night, "to other mountaines which lie from the river side."* Here he beheld the most elevated range on the Hudson river, and here he found, as he says, "very loving people, and very old men, by whom he and his crew were well used. They sent their boat off and caught a great quantity of excellent fish.

In the morning, it being fair though very warm weather, (Sep. 16,) they renewed their fishing excursion, but they were less successful than they had been, in consequence of canoes having been there all night. This morning the natives flocked on board, supplied them for trifles, with Indian corn, pumpkins, and tobacco.† They rode still all day, filled their

* Journal. These were the "*Kaatsbergs*," or Catskill Mountains, one of which, viz. The Round Top, is 3804 feet above tide-water, the highest on the Hudson River. The same above the base of the range 3105. High Peak above tide-water 3718, above the base 3019. The altitude of the base of the Catskill range is 699 feet. (Capt. Partridge took the altitude in 1818.)

† The following reception Hudson and a part of his crew met with on landing in lat. 42° 15'. (According to De Laet in *Nieuw Wereldt*.) He went on shore in one of their canoes with an old man, who was the chief of 40 men and 17 women. These he saw in a house made of bark of trees, exceedingly smooth and well finished within and without. He found a great quantity of Indian corn and beans. Indeed, near the house there lay drying of these articles enough to load three ships, besides what were then growing in the fields. On coming to the house, two mats were spread to sit on, eatables were immediately brought in red wooden bowls well made, two men were sent off with their bows and arrows, and soon returned with two pigeons. They also killed a fat dog, and skinned it with shells which they had got out of the water. They expected their visitors would remain during the night; but the latter determined to return on board. The natives were exceedingly kind and good tempered; for when they discovered Hudson's determination to proceed on board, they imagining it proceeded from fear of their bows and arrows, broke them to pieces, and threw them into the fire.

The land was observed to be of the finest kind for tillage. It bore trees fit for building vessels, &c. Pumpkins, grapes, plums, and other fruit, were growing here at the time. The latitude given by De Laet would bring Hudson in the vicinity of Catskill, where he remained some time, and had free and amicable intercourse with the natives, and found "very loving people and very old men," but perhaps the interview was on the 18th near Castleton, where the Gov. of the country gave so "good cheer." These natives were the Wabingi, or the Mohawks.

casks with fresh water, and “at night weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water; so they anchored til day.”* This would bring them near the shoals or marsh in the river,† between Athens, and directly opposite that and the city that now bears the name of Hudson. In the visions of the wildest fancy, which often gives to “airy nothing a local habitation and a name,” Hudson never could have dreamed, that here, where his onward course was suddenly arrested, as it were, to give a pause for destiny to link her strange associations, a “city of Hudson,” in less than two centuries, was to unite with the river on whose banks it was to be erected, and form in unison with the names of a strait and bay, where their discoverer should perish, a chaplet of imperishable glory to his name and fame and memory.

In the morning, (17th) Hudson, availing himself of its coolness and freshness, (the weather having been uniformly hot, though usually very fair,) set sail soon after sunrise, and “ran up sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small ilands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded; so we layed out our small anchor, and heaved off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the flood ran we heaved off again, and anchored all night.”

We have made this extract in the words of the journal. And the correctness of our interpretation will be directed to settle a point which has been controverted, viz. How far Hudson actually sailed with the ship “Half Moon?” Dr. Miller‡ says, “Hudson appears to have sailed up the river a little above where the city of Hudson now stands; and beyond that point he himself never ascended;” that not consi-

* Journal.

† 117 miles from N. Y.

‡ In a discourse designed to commemorate the discovery of New-York by Henry Hudson; by Samuel Miller, DD. &c. Vol. I. N. Y. Hist. p. 84.

dering it safe to proceed further with his ship he sent his boat, which, after going eight or nine leagues beyond where the ship lay at anchor, and evidently as far as where the city of Albany stands, returned with report of irregular and unfavourable soundings.

The Half Moon was a small ship, a *yacht*, a mere *fly boat*,* without any cargo and so light, (judging from the facility with which she was brought off wherever she run aground, once from the shore at Sandy Hook, twice near her present position, and yet heaved off, in the last case, by a light anchor;) that it is probable she was of a less burthen than many of the steamboats and sloops, that now ply between New-York, Albany, and Troy. She may not have much exceeded the yacht which De Laet describes, as having been built by "Schipper Block." He says,† in speaking of the abundance of ship timber on the banks of the river, that divers sloops and petty vessels were built, particularly in 1614, when "Schipper Adriaen Block, having had by accident his ship burned, built a '*jacht*'* thirty-eight feet long in keel, forty-four and a half feet over the deck, from head to stern, eleven and a half feet wide, with which he sailed through 'Hellegat' into the Great Bay, and examined all the places about it, and also proceeded to Cape Cod, met 'Hendrick Christiansz' ship, and left his *boat* on that coast to be further used." But according to De Laet, as heretofore quoted,‡ even the *shipping* came to the island where Fort Orange was erected, though some distance beyond it the river was so shallow, that *sloops* could hardly go up. Consequently Hudson's yacht, or fly-boat, might have gone as far as Albany.

Besides, the Hudson River, in the course of two hundred and fifteen years, has undoubtedly lessened in depth. The

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* See *ante* p. 222. 237.

† Nieuw Wereldt, B. 3 ch. 10.

‡ *Ante* p. 237.

opening and settling of a new country diminishes the sources of supply at the fountain heads of rivers, by widening the range for the action of the sun, producing consequently more absorption and evaporation. Geologists, in their observations, have thought that they could trace in the rear of Lansingburgh and Troy the indications of a former channel of this river, which ran at the base of the picturesque range of hills in the rear of those places. The flats along the river between Albany and Troy, at Greenbush and below, are supposed to have been submerged. And at the early settlement of our State, the very island on which our Dutch ancestors first made a stand a little below Albany, was then so liable to be unindated, that they were obliged to remove their fortification and settlement.

From the shoal opposite the city of Hudson, to Castleton, the distance is about the same as that mentioned in the journal, (6 leagues). In this course, particularly between New Baltimore and Castleton are several "shoals in the middle of the channel and small islands." The shoalest water between New Baltimore and Castleton is now from three and a half to seven feet, between that and Albany four and a half to five and six-tenths feet. At and between Coemans and Albany are now two bars. Taking the minimum three and a half feet, and allowing three feet flood tide, this will give six and a half feet depth. But when we take into the calculation, that these bars have within half a century only, greatly increased by accession of alluvion, notwithstanding the artificial means to keep them clear, that the river has receded from its ancient elevation probably three or four feet; we shall not be surprised that Hudson's light ship (perhaps about fifty or sixty tons burthen, and drawing five or six feet water) actually came, according to the distance in his journal, to Albany or the

* Genet's Report to the Legislature of N. Y. See Map of the Hudson.

island just below, where the Hollanders were probably induced, by Hudson's report, to make their first settlement, and that his boat proceeded at least as far as Troy, Lansingburgh, and Waterford.

We now return to the journal, and in our conclusion, say he went that day (17th) somewhere near Castleton, that the shore where the ship grounded, and the bank in the channel, where she stuck till flood tide, were in that vicinity, where a bar then existed, which may have since changed its position while others have formed. Having cleared the bars, Hudson anchored. The next morning (18th) the weather continued fair and calm, and he remained during the day. A very friendly intercourse with the natives appears to have been had. One of the chiefs of the country added another proof to the many proofs already cited,* of that genuine hospitality which distinguished almost invariably the native of the forest in his first interviews with Europeans.†

On the nineteenth of September Hudson weighed anchor, and proceeded six miles higher up. Here it seems is the furthest point to which the ship proceeded. If the shoals (all of which the ship had cleared) which now form the first bar, a few miles below Albany, then existed, the six miles would have brought her near the upper part of the city. If the distance be computed from the vicinity of Castleton, then Hudson would have advanced about midway of the island, (opposite Norman's Kill) a little below Albany, and in either case he would have been in view of the spot where the city has been erected. In coincidence with the opinion that he came as far as Albany, are the additional statements of Pro-

* See *ante* p. 144.

† "In the afternoon our master's mate went on land with an old savage, a Governour of the countrey, who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere."—*Journal*. This was either one of the Mahicanni on the east shore, or one of the Mohawks on the west.

fessor Ebeling, President Lambrechtsen, Dr. Belknap, and several others.*

Here Hudson moored his vessel nearly four days. The kindness with which the natives welcomed him, and the sincerity of their friendship, tested by an experiment, which we shall presently describe, dissipated former suspicions.

He had arrived about noon. The natives flocked on board, brought their wealth, such as grapes, pumpkins, together with otter and beaver skins,† for which hatchets, beads, knives, and other trifles, were given.

Next morning, (20th) the mate, with four men, went up

* *Doct. Belknap* (Am. Biog. art. Hudson) says that from an enumeration of the computed distances in each day's run, Hudson sailed 53 leagues, and that it is evident that he penetrated as far as Albany. But in this computation he does not seem to have been correct. The given leagues in the journal appear to have been less; but on their accuracy as to distances no reliance can be placed. If it could be, Hudson, according to Dr. B. would have gone as far as the city of Troy and villages of Waterford and Lansingburgh—Troy being but 6, Lansingburgh 9, and Waterford 10 miles from Albany; which last city is 144 miles only from New-York, by accurate measurement, according to Goodrich's map, and lies in lat. $42^{\circ} 29'$. *Lambrechtsen*, President of the Zeeland Society of Sciences, who is presumed to have been acquainted with the records, if any existed on this subject in Holland, says in his short description of the first discovery of New Netherlands, &c. translated in MS. by Mr. Vanderkemp, that this river was sailed up to the 43° N. latitude. *Professor Ebeling* (in his History of America, viz. New-York,) gives the same degree, and says the *yacht* could go no further for want of depth of water. But in the collections of the Dutch East India voyages, (translated from the Dutch, London, 1703) it is asserted that Hudson sailed to the $42^{\circ} 40'$, about 50 leagues. This supports the statement of Abraham Yates, jun., who, (in a manuscript letter now in the N. Y. Historical Library, directed to Jedediah Morse, dated May 1, 1793,) says that Hudson proceeded to the $42^{\circ} 40'$, and his boat, to where the river divides itself into four branches. Mr. Yates was at that date Mayor of the city of Albany, and was well acquainted with the traditional and historical accounts of the first discovery and settlements. If he was correct, Hudson came as far as the present Canal lock and Albany basin, and his boat proceeded to Waterford and Lansingburgh.

† Albany was long celebrated for the beavers caught in its neighbourhood. It was once called *Beaver-wyck*.

six miles, found but six feet water, the channel very narrow, and towards night returned.

They probably visited the shoals between Albany and Troy, of which there are now several, and the channel at two places particularly is narrow, shallow, and crooked.

The next day, (21st) they determined again to examine the depth and breadth of the river ; but they did not leave the ship, in consequence of multitudes flocking on board to survey the wonder.

The prejudices they imbibed in Europe, or in their coasting voyage, against a people whom Europeans denominated *savages*, had given a tone of suspicion to their intercourse. In order to discover whether “ any of the chiefe men of the country here had any treacherie in them, our master and mate” resorted to the following singular expedient : They took them into the cabin, and gave them so much “ wine and *aqua vitæ*, that they were all merrie ; and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our countrey women would doe in a strange place.”* The denouement to this ludicrous pantomime was, that one of them became intoxicated. On beholding him stagger and fall, the natives became dumb from utter astonishment. They could say by their looks and gestures only, that it “ was strange to them, for they could not tell how to take it.”† They all hurried ashore in their canoes. Some time after, a few of them came again, brought stropes of beads for the intoxicated man, (perhaps to enable him to propitiate the good will of those who could exercise so strange a power over him.) He slept all night quietly. In the morning, (Sept. 22) the mate and four others, embarked in the boat to sound the river higher up than they had been. The natives did not venture to renew their visit to the ship till noon, when some of them came, and

* Journal,

† Journal.

finding their chief well, were highly gratified. In the afternoon, they repeated their visit, brought tobacco and beads, "and gave them to our master, and made an *oration*, and showed him all the country round about."* Not contented with this proof of their gratitude, and this oratorical expression of their friendship, in a language which they did not seem to be aware that Hudson could not interpret, they sent off one of their attendants, who presently brought a great "platter" of venison, dressed in their own style, and "caused him to eat with them : then they made him reverence, and departed all," except the old chief, who, having got a taste of the fatal beverage, chose to remain a little longer on board. This poison, (which, combined with other causes, has since operated to deprive the descendants of these unsuspecting people of the fine regions, which the native orator, in the boldness of a free spirit, and with so much pride and pleasure, then displayed to Hudson,) was now introduced among our Iroquois Indians by the first European who had ever entered their *Cahohatat^a*,† visited their *Schenectadea*,‡ or passed their *Tioghsahronde Cohohatatea*.§

These people were of the Mohawk nation, then one of the most formidable of the Iroquois confederacy, afterwards the victorious enemies of the Mahicanni, and the terror of the New-England Indians,|| but now not distinctly known within

* Journal.

† The Iroquois name of the North or Hudson River.

‡ Iroquois name for Albany, signifying the place the Iroquois arrived at by travelling through the pine-trees. (I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 44.) It will appear in our Colonial History, that this place has had the names of Fort Orange, Beaverwyck, William's Stadt, *Fuyck* or *Hoop-net*, Albany, New-Albania, besides that of *Schenectadea*, and the Mahicanni name of *Gáschtenick*.

§ That is, the North River when spoken of in relation to the Norman's Kill, (off which perhaps Hudson first anchored while he remained these four days near Albany,) or to the water-vliet-kill, the Mohock, or other streams, discharging into the river. (I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 44.)

|| See *ante* p. 232.

the limits of this State. They occupied the spot which now exhibits more than two thousand edifices and fourteen thousand inhabitants, displaying the bustle of commercial enterprise, the splendour of private opulence, and the stateliness of official authority. At the present period, scarcely a descendant of that powerful tribe is seen in this region, unless, indeed, as an occasional wanderer, to revisit the seats of his ancestors, to view the strange transition that has occurred since their interview with Hudson, and perhaps to gaze, as he approaches the legislative and judicial capitol, upon an emblem on its cupola, the prototype of which he may possibly think had been sometimes concealed from the eyes of his forefathers.

While Hudson, unconscious of the ulterior effects of the pernicious evil, thus introduced the knowledge of it, at the central part of our State, Champlain, we have heretofore seen, was exploring our northern waters during the same season, and gave to the same people their first knowledge of the effects of gunpowder.*

It is a remarkable fact, that a tradition prevails at this day among the Iroquois, that a scene of intoxication occurred with a party of the natives on the arrival of the first ship.† As a singular coincidence, also a similar tradition, most satisfactorily authenticated, prevails among the descendants of the ancient Lenni Lenape, (or Delaweres) one of the branches of which, was the Mahicanni who resided opposite Albany when Hudson arrived; and other branches of whom, were the Monseys and Delawares, who at that time occupied Manhattan and Staten Islands, and the Jersey shore.

The tradition is sanctioned by the names of Doctor Barton and the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, and confirmed by the earliest Dutch historians‡ of New Netherlands. It differs from

* See *ante* p. 177, 180.

† Doct. Miller Disc. V. I. N. Y. H. Coll. p. 35.

‡ This account is taken from the MSS. in possession of the N. Y. Hist. Society, and the relation of Mr. Heckewelder agrees with that since pub-

the foregoing description in one important particular. The scene of it is laid on York or Manhattan Island.

The following is the tradition. "A long time ago, before men with a white skin had ever been seen, some Indians, fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied something at a distance moving upon the water. They hurried ashore, collected their neighbours, who together returned and viewed intensely this astonishing phenomenon. What it could be, baffled all conjecture. Some supposed it a large fish or animal, others that it was a very big house floating on the sea. Perceiving it moving towards land, the spectators concluded that it would be proper to send runners in different directions to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off for the immediate attendance of their warriors. These arriving in numbers to behold the sight, and perceiving that it was actually moving towards them, (i. e. coming into the river or bay,) they conjectured that it must be a remarkable large house, in which the Manitto (or Great Spirit) was coming to visit them. They were much afraid, and yet under no apprehension that the Great Spirit would injure them. They worshipped him. The chiefs now assembled at York Island, and consulted in what manner they should receive their Manitto: meat was prepared for a sacrifice. The women were directed to prepare the best of victuals. Idols or images were examined and put in order. A grand dance they thought would be pleasing, and in addition to the sacrifice, might appease him if angry. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the result would be. To these, men, women and children, looked up for advice and protection. Utterly at a loss what to do, and distracted alternately by hope and fear, in this confusion a grand dance commenced. Meantime fresh runners

lished by him in Vol. I. of Hist. and Lit. Transactions of Amer. Philo. Society, Phila. 1819. A MS. extract from Dr. Barton's Journal (in N. Y. H. Soc. Library) is to the same purport.

arrived, declaring it to be a great house of various colours, and full of living creatures. It now appeared certain that it was their Manitto, probably bringing some new kind of game. Others arriving, declared it positively to be full of people of different colour and dress from theirs, and that one in particular appeared altogether *red*.* This then must be the *Manitto*. They were lost in admiration, could not imagine what the vessel was, whence it came, or what all this portended. They are now hailed from the vessel in a language they could not understand. They answer by a shout or yell in their way. The house, (or large canoe, as some render it) stops. A smaller canoe comes on shore with the red man in it, some stay by his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men form a circle, into which the red man and two attendants approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are amazed at their colour and dress, particularly with him who, glittering in red, wore something (perhaps lace and buttons) they could not comprehend. He *must* be the great Manitto they thought, but why should he have a *white skin*? A large elegant *Hock-hack* (gourd, i. e. bottle, decanter, &c.) is brought by one of the supposed Manitto's servants, from which a substance is poured into a small cup or glass, and handed to the Manitto. He drinks, has the glass refilled and handed to the chief near him. He takes it, smells it, and passes it to the next who does the same. The glass in this manner is passed round the circle, and is about to be returned to the red clothed man, when one of them, a great warrior, harangues them on the impropriety of returning the cup unemptied. It was handed to them, he said, by the Manitto, to drink out of as he had. To follow his example would please him—to reject it might provoke his wrath. And if no one else would, he would drink it

* It will be recollected, that Hudson clothed *in red* the savages he took on board near Sandy Hook Bay. This shows that he had red clothes on board, and when he or his mate landed, he might have been thus clothed.

himself, let what would follow, for it were better for one even to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass, smelled at it, again addressed them, bidding adieu, and drank the contents. All eyes were now fixed (on the first Indian in New-York who had tasted the poison which has since effected so signal a revolution in the condition of the native Americans.) He soon began to stagger. The women cried, supposing him in fits. He rolled on the ground. They bemoan his fate. They thought him dying. He fell asleep. They at first thought he had expired, but soon perceived he still breathed. He awoke, jumped up, and declared he never felt more happy. He asked for more, and the whole assembly imitating him, became intoxicated. After this intoxication ceased, they say, that while it lasted the whites confined themselves to their vessel, the man with red clothes returned, and distributed beads, axes, hoes, and stockings. They soon became familiar, and conversed by signs. The whites made them understand that they would now return home, but the next year they would visit them again with presents, and stay with them awhile; but that as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs to put into their broth. Accordingly a vessel arrived the season following, when they were much rejoiced to see each other;* but the whites laughed when they saw the axes and hoes hanging as ornaments to their breasts, and the stockings used as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles (or helves) in the former, and cut down trees before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here they say a general laughter ensued, to think they had remained ignorant of the use of these things, and had borne so long such heavy metal suspended around their necks. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay

* It is certain that the Dutch sent one ship the year after Hudson's discovery, and it is highly probable that a part of the crew who had been with him, returned with this vessel.

with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock spread before them would cover or encompass. They granted the request. The whites took a knife, and beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up to a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child. They then took the rope and drew it gently along in a circular form, and took in a large piece of ground; the Indians were surprised at their superior wit, but they did not contend with them for a little ground, as they had enough.* They lived contentedly together for a long time, but the new comers from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained. And thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicannittuck, (Hudson river) until they began to believe they would want all their country, which proved eventually the case."

The name (says Barton) which these Indians gave to the whites who surprised them so much, was *Woapsid Lennappe*, which signifies the white people. But in process of time, when a number of disagreeable events had taken place between the natives and new-comers, the former laid aside the original appellation, and called them *Schwonnack*, "the salt people," because they came across the saltwater; and this is the general name of the whites to this day.

That this remarkable tradition has a reference to one of the first visits which the Europeans paid to the country in the neighbourhood of the city of New-York, there is very little reason to doubt. We are left to conjecture (says Dr. Barton) at what time the visit was made, and by what nation, and of course to whom the Indians are indebted for the first introduction of spiritous liquors among them.

But Vander Donck† (who wrote about forty-three years after the above scene took place) in his chapter, headed by the inqui-

* These Dutchmen (says Mr. Heckewelder) turned their classical knowledge of Queen Dido to a profitable account.

† Adriaen Vander Donck. "Beschryvinge Van Nieuw Nederlandt," &c. printed Amst. 1655. (Printed 46 years after the above arrival and interview took place.) His work passed through two editions.

ry, "why this country was called New-Netherlands?" answers, by assigning, among other reasons, that it was first discovered by the people of Netherland. In proof of which, he says, that the Indians or natives, *many of whom were then living, say from their own knowledge and recollection*, that before the arrival of the ship Half-moon in 1609, they did not know there were any more people in the world, than of the same kind with themselves, much less people who differ so widely from each other as our nation and theirs; so that when they first discovered our ship, they did not know what to make of it. They were in great fear, and knew not whether it might not be an apparition; but whether from heaven or hell they could not divine. Others supposed it to be a great sea monster, and that those on it had more the appearance of devils than human beings, at least a strange report circulated through the country, and caused a great consternation among the Indians, *as many of them have frequently told me*, (says Vander Donck.) We therefore receive this as a sufficient proof, that the people of Netherlands were the first discoverers or possessors of New Netherlands, for there are *Indians who recollect a hundred years*, so that if there had been any before us, they would certainly know something of it, either personally, or from the relation of their ancestors.

The New Neth. *Verloogh*,† printed 1650, (41 years after the discovery by Hudson) and cited in the *Kort Verhael*,† relates the first discovery and reception of Hudson, thus: In 1609, the privileged *East India Company* (though its view was directed elsewhere at her expense by the ship, the *Halve moon*, (crescent) whereof captain and cargo (*skipper en koopman*) was *Henrick Hutson*, discovered first the country which our people call New Netherl. insomuch that even now inhabitants

* P. 11 to 14.

† P. 17.

of the country remember it, and witness, that when the Dutch ships came hither first, and were seen by them, they did not know whether they came from heaven, or were devils. Others thought them to be sea-monsters, or fishes.* They knew before nothing of other sort of men; a strange tale thereof run through their country now.”†

Whether the preceding interview actually occurred on Manhattan Island, opposite to which, by short removes, Hudson lay about two days, and is said to have landed; whether it took place on Coney Island, or at the foot of Sandy Hook Bay, where the journal describes the people in great numbers, men, women, and children, ranged on the beach to receive their new visitors, and where one account describes them as singing; or whether it happened at the place where Hudson's ship was last moored, and where the chief and his followers became so “merrie,” according to the journal, are inquiries that it would be impossible satisfactorily to answer.

Mr. Heckewelder received the tradition about sixty-five years ago, and took it down verbatim, as it was related to him by aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni. Dr. Barton says the story is told in the same way by all the Indians of the tribes of Delawares, the “Monces,” and Mohiccans; and in relating the incidents, they laugh at their own ignorance. But what still further shows (says Dr. B.) that considerable dependence may be placed upon the tradition, is this, that to this day, the Delawares, the Monseys, and Mohiccans, call New-York *Manahachtanienks*, that is, the place at which we were drunk, being the name they bestowed on the place, *immediately after the incident* related. Mr. Heckewelder also says, that the Delawares call this place *Mannahatta*.

* It is related that a similar perplexity and consternation seized the minds of the Indians bordering on Detroit River, at the time the Lake Erie steamboat “Walk-in-the-Water” made her first appearance in that river, advancing against wind and tide, and sending forth volumes of flames and smoke.

† MS. in N. Y. Hist. Soc.

nink and *Mannahachtanink* to this day. They have frequently told him that it derived its name from this general intoxication, and that the word comprehended in its meaning, the *island* or *place of general intoxication*. The Mahicanni,* (otherwise Mohiggans by the English, and Mahicanders by the low Dutch) call the place by the same name, but think it was given in consequence of a kind of wood which grew there, and of which the Indians used to make their bows and arrows. This wood they call *Gawaak*.* Unless Hudson, after the interview, (if it took place at Manhattan Island) might have heard the exclamation, "*Mannahattanink*," or afterwards heard it from the Indians (perhaps from those he took with him up the river, and who escaped at West Point) during his month's visit in our waters, we should incline to believe, that the Mahicanni were most correct in the origin of the name. For Hudson, on his return, (Oct. 2d) while opposite the island, refers to "that side of the river that is called *Manna-hata*." It might be suggested that Varrazano, 85 years before, or some other European visiter, had been there, and had the interview, as given in the foregoing tradition; but there is no proof to support such suggestion. Indeed, all the accounts contradict it, inasmuch as they say the next year, the visit was renewed. This corresponds with the fact, that the next year after the discovery, the Dutch sent out a vessel, in which it is probable some of the Dutch sailors who had accompanied Hudson, returned as pilots and for traffic. "The universal name the Monseys have for New-York (says Mr. H.) is *Laaphawachking*, that is, the place of stringing wampum beads. They say this name was given in consequence of the distribution of beads among them by Europeans, and that *after the European vessel returned*, wherever one looked, the Indians were seen stringing beads and wampum the whites gave them."

After this digression upon an interesting traditional fact, the occurrence of which, though perhaps not strictly susceptible

* Mr. Heckewelder.

of location at any particular spot of Hudson's visit, has nevertheless reference to his arrival, we shall return to his progress while in this river.

The boat which had been dispatched in the morning (22d) was absent until ten o'clock at night, when, during a shower of rain, it returned, the men having found the greatest depth of water seven feet only, and "unconstant soundings." The exact distance they had gone was not known. The journalist says, they had been seven or eight leagues; consequently, they went at least as far as Troy, Lansingburgh, and Waterford, and perhaps beyond. They had no doubt passed the sprouts of the Mohawk, and may have gone northerly towards Stillwater. Had they followed the Mohawk to the Cohoes, so great a curiosity would probably have been mentioned. Hudson now made preparations to retrace his voyage. Before we resume his journal, we will inquire what proportions of the river, its branches, and the territory through which they flowed, remained undiscovered by him, and by others for a long time afterwards.

§ 52.

An exact knowledge of the northern sources of the Hudson, and its branches, has hardly yet been acquired, in consequence of the wild condition of the region which embraces them. But this knowledge is far more accurate and extensive, than that which prevailed at the respective periods, when De Laet published his "*Nieuw Wereldt*," Vander Donck described "*Nieuw Nederlandt*," Smith wrote his brief "*History of the province of New-York*," or still later when the Swedish naturalist Kalm,* visited and described the river.

De Laet, whom we before quoted, in mentioning to the courses of the river, as far as the island† on which the fort was erect-

* See his *Travels* in 1749 in Vol. XIII. Pinkerton's *Collections*, 575, &c. and 737 of those of the Rev. And. Burnaby in 1759 in *ib.*

† Near Albany.

ed in 1614, to which, he said, the *shipping* came, but further up the river sloops could scarcely sail in consequence of its shallowness, observes, that from afar, certain high hills were seen, from which the waters of the river proceeded, and "to all appearance it reaches to the great river St. Lawrence, in Canada; for our skippers testify, that to this fort Indians come from St. Lawrence, and even from Quebec and "Tadousac." Vander Donck, was somewhat better informed on this subject, but it seems that he also derived his information from the natives.

In his day,* it will appear that the Dutch settlements were confined mainly to the borders of this river, and that the existence of the northern sources of the Hudson, and the great interior lakes, was the subject matter of vague description, founded upon the reports of Indians, and upon the flights of birds. It will appear that the French were probably the first European discoverers of the north-western interior of our State, and of the great chain of lakes. For while the Dutch were confined to some favourite spots, such as Manhattan, Fort Orange, and hardly extended their geographical knowledge beyond the beautiful Kills, as Vander Donck names them, of the little and great Esopus, Kats-Kill, Slaper haven, Colendonck's Kill, or Sagh-Kill, and Wappinghs Kill, the French will appear to have had establishments in the territory of the Iroquois as early as 1655, and missionaries among the Onondagas, according to Charlevoix as early as 1654. But still earlier, it will appear, that Champlain had a knowledge at least of Lake Ontario, if not of the falls of Niagara,† and

* About Anno 1655, when the first edition of his work was published.

† *Niagara Falls.* The period of the first discovery and the description of these falls, may be ascertained by consulting Vol. VI. (new series) North Amer. Review, p. 116; Spafford's Gazetteer of N. Y. 2d Ed. 1824; Dr. Mitchill's Geol. of N. Amer. in Cuvier's Theory, Eaton's Geological Surveys, and various books of travels. Mr. Spafford says the height of the fall on the American side is 164 feet: on the Canada side 150; the results of several careful admeasurements. "I have been sometimes asked (says Colonel Timothy Pickering in MS. communication, see *ante* p. 232 n.) what was

the lakes south-west of them. This inquiry, however, will be reserved until the accounts of the progressive discoveries and settlements of the State will be given; in which, we may then refer to the travels of Champlain in the country of our Iroquois; those also of La Salle, who, in 1678, first formed the design of traversing the country from Lake Frontenac (Ontario) to the Gulf of Mexico,* those of Father Hennepin in the same direction between 1679 and 1682,† and those of Baron La Hontan,‡ who performed pilgrimage between 1683 and 1694, among those “naked philosophers,” the Iroquois, proceeded as far as Huron, and published his professedly faithful account of the affairs between the English, French, and “Iroquese,” in 1703.§ But to return to the sources and

the Indian pronunciation of Niagara. By the eastern tribes it was *Ne-au-gau-raw*, or rather *Ne-og-au-roh*. The second syllable was short, with the accent upon it. The sound of the last syllable was indefinite, much as we pronounce the last syllable of the word America. I account for the sound of *i* as *e* in Niagara, and the broad sound of *a*, to its having been written by the Low Dutch of Albany, and the French in Canada. In writing the Indian names in my treaty of 1794, I took some pains to get their Indian sounds, and to express these by such a combination of letters as would have been given them had the names been English. *Kon-on-dai-gua* for instance, the place where the treaty was held; the accent being on the syllable *dai*. The Senekas called the falls or river not *Ne-og-au-roh*, but *Ne-auh-gaw*, the second syllable *auh* gutturally, with the accent upon it, and the last syllable long.

* See his expedition, Vol. II. N. Y. Hist. Collec. 221. Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. 116.

† Who says he began his discoveries with M. La Salle, though he modestly observes that he had made the same discovery two years before. His book (see *New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, London, 1699) establishes his claim to the epithet of “*great liar*,” with which the Canadians, according to Kalm, distinguished him.

‡ In *New Voyages to N. America*, translated from the French. London 1703.

§ See further Atwater in *West. Antiquities* Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. p. 116. Schoolcraft's *Journal* reviewed, Vol. VI. (n. s.) *N. Amer. Review*, 225, &c. Gov. Clinton's *Memoir on West. Antiq. of N. Y.*

branches of the Hudson. Vander Donck says, that “44 miles (i. e. Dutch miles) from the sea shore, the “*Noordt rivier*,” is divided into two branches, one of which runs with four streams to the great falls of the *Macquas Kill*, called *Chahoos*; the other half, which is called and really is the river, is navigable for small vessels several miles further up, and as the Indians inform us (continues Vander Donck) extends very far, and has its source in a very great lake, which is also the source of the river Canada. This, he continues, would seem to be the lake of the ‘*Iracoys*,’ as large as the Mediterranean sea, nearly 40 (Dutch) miles wide, and where no eye, although in the midst of the lake, can discover the extent. And it hath also many large vallies, with cane and marsh lands, so wide and extensive as to be beyond the reach of the eye, and in the summer season they say, many water fowls frequent it to breed. When the Indians pass over the lake, they know how to avail themselves of their acquaintance with the islands in it, and sail by days’ journeys from one island to another, sometimes to three or four, without which expedient they could not arrive at the place intended, but this we assert upon the information of the Indians.* Others say, that with small vessels it may be navigated through the lake to the river of Canada; but that appears to me (Vander Donck continues) very improbable. The other branch of the North river runs, as has been said, with four branches to the great falls of the *Macquas Kill*, called by the Indians *Chahoos*, but our nation call it the great falls. Above the falls, the river is some hundred yards wide, and the fall of the water is conjectured to be 150 or 200 feet, and the water pours over a smooth precipice, as if it fell from a straight wall. The bottom is a firm blue rock, and just below the falls are some round rocks, resembling heaps of hay or turf, some of eight, sixteen, and thirty feet high, of a romantic and

* It is obvious that Vander Donck’s informants confounded Lake Erie or some western lake with that of *Lacus Irocoisia*, (Champlain.) or that he misunderstood them.

pleasing appearance ; and if poets frequented the place, they would invent many wonderful and agreeable fables respecting it, for which purpose it seems to be well calculated. Hence the water rushes foaming, dashing, and twirling, among the rocks for the distance of one, or one and an half musket shots, when it begins to be composed and to flow gently. Above the falls, the water is broad and navigable, and is called the *Macquas Kill*. It extends quite through the land of the *Macquas* and *Senekas*, and proceeds from a lake at a distance of at least sixty (Dutch) miles, to which it continues navigable ; it washes very many beautiful lands, and abounds with fish. When the Indians travel by water to trade, they descend this kill with their canoes constructed of the bark of trees, and when they arrive at the falls, they must carry their boats a considerable distance by land, otherwise they would be driven down the current and be wrecked, as it happened to an Indian in our time.”*

* “It chanced that an Indian, with whom I myself (says Vander Donck) was well acquainted, accompanied by his wife and child, with about sixty beaver skins, was descending the river in the spring, when the stream is most rapid, intending to trade with the Netherlands. Not being careful to come too in time, not regarding the current enough, and relying too much upon his own powers, before he was aware, was carried down by the stream, and notwithstanding he exerted himself to the utmost when it was too late, the rapid precipitated him with his bark canoe, his wife and child, his beaver skins and other packages which he had with him, from the top to the bottom of the falls. His wife and child were killed, most of his goods lost, and his canoe dashed in pieces ; but he saved his life, and I have frequently conversed with him since, and heard him relate the story.” Vander Donck further says, in his description of the “*Noordt Rivier*,” that “it abounds with fish, such as sturgeon, bass, dertien, sheep-head, &c. Here I cannot omit (he says) to relate, although something out of the way, that in the spring of 1647, when the water in the river was fresh almost to the bay, occasioned by the abundance of the water coming down the river, (the fresh water in ordinary tides extending only about twenty or twenty-four miles* from the sea-shore,) two whales of a reasonable size swam up the river more than 40 miles,* returned and stranded about ten or twelve miles* from the

* Dutch miles.

From Vander Donck, we learn how limited and inaccurate was the information upon this subject, more than forty years after the foundation of New-Netherlands. The knowledge of the lakes, we perceive, was founded on rumour. The grand cataracts of Niagara and Genessee, the several falls on the upper Hudson,* with all the romantic, picturesque, and magnificent scenery around them, were so far from being known or noticed, that the Cohoes, then within a few miles of "Fort Orangie," were conjectured to descend 150 or 200 feet.

Even Smith,† who wrote a century after Vander Donck, is also erroneous in some particulars of his description. The sources of the river, however, had not then been discovered. We know, says he, in general, that the source is in the mountainous, uninhabited country, between lakes Ontario and Champlain.

But the Saucondauga river, which, in his description, is supposed to be the Hudson, may be considered as a distinct

sea shore, where others also the same year stranded and afterwards escaped. The other remained stranded not far from the great Cahoe's falls, about forty-three miles from* the sea shore.† The fish was very fat; for notwithstanding that the inhabitants of Rensselaerwyck boiled of it a large quantity of train oil, the river (the current of which was at the time very rapid) for three weeks afterwards continued very oily and covered with grease. Yea, sometimes while the fish was decaying, the stench infected the air so much, that to the leeward it might have been perceived at the distance of two miles. I cannot say (continues Vander Donck, sagely,) what could have induced this fish to ascend the river so high, being at that time upwards of forty miles from all salt or brack water, and out of his usual course, except it might be that he was allured by the numerous shoals of fishes which he met with." Peter Kalm in his travels observes that though the region of porpoises seldom extends higher than salt water, (beyond which is that of sturgeons,) yet it has sometimes happened that porpoises have gone up as far as Albany.

* See Dr. Mitchill's *Geology* in Cuvier p. 353, 365. Spafford's *Gazetteer*.

† *Hist. of the province of N. Y. from its first discovery to 1732.* Published London, 1757.

* Dutch miles.

† That is, on Whale Island, opposite the upper part of the city of Troy. See Spafford's *Gazetteer* of N. Y. 1824.

river or a branch of the Hudson. Its course from its source,* is first southerly, and then northerly and easterly, until it falls into the Hudson, a few miles south-westerly from the south end of Lake George.† From this junction, the course of the Hudson is first south, somewhat east six or eight miles; then northerly and easterly eight or ten miles, and then generally south about 12° or 15° west to the bay at New-York. Several miles north of where it receives the Saucondauga, it is divided into two nearly equal branches, the one called the northeast, and the other the north branch. His supposition also, that the Hudson is navigable for batteaux from Albany to Lake George, except two portages of half a mile each, is incorrect, and contrary to the note on the same sentence, in which it is said: "In the passage from Albany to Fort Edward, the whole land carriage is about 12 or 13 miles." The Hudson passes a few miles west of the south end of Lake George. The northeast branch in its course, approaches nearer to the lake.‡

This branch is called Scaroon river, flowing from Scaroon lake, which is about eight miles long and one broad, twelve miles west of the north end of Lake George, and is partly in Essex and partly in Warren county. Saucondauga rises in Johnsburch, Warren county, and in the wilds of Hamilton county, in a great many ponds and streams little known. But the northern branch, which, from its being the longest and principal branch, is considered as entitled to the name of Hudson, has its limit in latitude $44^{\circ} 05'$ in the mountainous region west of Lake Champlain, and in the same region of lakes, which are not only the sources of the other branches above named, but those of Grass and other rivers of the St. Law-

* According to Samuel Jones, Esq. in his remarks on Smith's History of N. Y. III. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 357.

† Spafford says about 8 miles S. W. of the south end of L. George.

‡ According to Samuel Jones's Remarks, ib. But see Spafford's Gazet-
teer, *art.* Hudson River, &c.

rence, and of the Saranac of Lake Champlain. The country is yet wild and little known ; but the Hudson (or northern branch) pursues a southerly course about sixty miles, where it meets the Scaroon, eight miles north west of Caldwell, at the south end of Lake George ; twelve miles further, the Saucondauga ; thence continues south and eastward, passes Glen's Falls, and at Sandy Hill makes a short bend to the south, bearing a little west, which course it pursues to the Atlantic. Its whole course to Sandy Hill has been reckoned 100 miles ; descending Baker's Falls, and afterwards passing several others, it receives between Waterford and Troy, (which last is 44 miles from Sandy Hill) its great western branch, the Mohawk, which rises in the northeast of Oneida county, and pursues its winding channel of about 135 miles to the Hudson.* The whole course of this noble river, from its northern limits to Albany, is about 150 miles, and thence to the Narrows 150 more, making, in its whole length, 300 miles. The extent of one half of the river, therefore, was explored by its discoverer, whose return we shall now proceed to trace from Albany to Europe.

§ 53.

Hudson, on the report of those whom he had sent to explore the river, found that it would be useless to proceed with his ship any further, or to delay his return. He had passed several days in a profitable traffic, and a friendly intercourse with the natives, among whom were probably those from each side of the river, the *Mahicanni* as well as the Mohawks. At noon of the 23d September, he therefore went down six miles to a shoal. Having but little wind, the tide laid his ship on the bar until the flood came, when she crossed it, and was anchored for the night.

The next day, after proceeding seven or eight leagues, she grounded on a bank of ooze in the middle of the river,

* See Spafford's Gazetteer of N. Y. 1824.

where she was detained till the ensuing morning, when the flood at ten o'clock enabled Hudson to anchor her in deep water. Thus the ship once more was interrupted in her passage, opposite the spot where a city* now commemorates the name of Hudson.

Here he remained, by reason of adverse winds, four days. On the day of his arrival, "they went on land and gathered good store of chestnuts," but whether on the east or west side of the river, is not mentioned. But the day following they went on land "to walk on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corne, and other garden herbs, with good store of goodly oakes, and walnut trees, and chestnut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood, in great abundance, and great store of *slate for houses, and other good stones.*"† Nothing is said of any inhabitants, while they were thus visiting the site, which is now that of the village of Athens. But next morning (26th,) after the carpenter, mate, and four of the company, had gone on shore to cut wood, while the vessel lay at anchor, two canoes came up the river, from the place where they first found "loving people," (Catskill landing,†) and in one of them was the old Chief whom Hudson had caused to be made intoxicated, (at Albany). He had followed our strange visitors thirty miles, to the base of the Catskill mountains, with the double view of again testifying to Hudson the sincerity of his friendship, and of gratifying the love of the marvellous, by relating his own adventures to the mountaineers, and drawing them from their retreat to witness the floating phenomenon. The old Chief now introduced with him, "an old man who brought more stropes of beads, and gave them to our master, and shewed him all the countrey thereabout, as though it were at his command!"† They tarried, greatly pleased with the unaccountable curiosities they discovered on board. Hudson "made the two old men dine with him, and the old man's wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of

* Thirty miles below Albany; a distance comprising the nine or ten leagues which the ship had advanced in the two days.

† Journal.

the age of sixteene or seventeene yeeres with them, who behaved themselves very modestly.”*

After dinner, and upon exchange of presents, the guests retired, inviting Hudson by signs, “to come down to them; for the ship was within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.”†

At last (27th Sept.) the wind changing to the north, they weighed, set their foretopsail, but the “ship would not flat, and ran on the ozie bank at half ebbe :” remaining till half flood, they set their foresail and maintopsail and proceeded down the river. As they passed the Catskill landing, the old man came off, “and would have them anchor and go on land and eate with him ; but the wind being fair, they would not yield to his request, so hee left them, being very sorrowfull for their departure.” Arriving in the afternoon in the vicinity of Red Hook, the wind came ahead, they anchored, and a part of the crew went to fish. They took in one hour “four or five and twentie Mullets, Breames, Bases, and Barbils.” The two succeeding days they advanced slowly till they anchored a few miles below Poughkeepsie, “at the lower end of the long Reach ; for it is sixe leagues long.” Here one canoe came off, but the natives would not come on board. The canoe, however, after dinner, returned with other men, three of whom came on board, bringing Indian wheat, which was bought, as usual, for trifles. The afternoon (29th) Hudson arrived at the head of the highlands, “or the northermost of the mountains,” and anchored for the night, in or near the Bay of Newburgh, or near New Windsor, not venturing, in consequence of violent contrary winds, to enter the highlands, “which had many points, a narrow channel, and many eddey winds.” The following day (30th) he had an opportunity of making observations on the country, and was particular in observing, that “this is a very pleasant place to build a towne on. The Road is very neere, and very good for all winds, save an east north-east wind.”

* These visitors were either of the nation to which the old Mohawk chief belonged, or of the Wabingi.

† Catskill.

In this conjecture he was not mistaken. The flourishing appearance of Newburgh and the villages in its vicinity, have long since verified the prophetic anticipation of Hudson's remark. Could he now reappear, what would be his astonishment in beholding upon the borders of the river he discovered, not a few towns placed here and there at eligible positions, but four cities, (of which one is the largest on the continent) more than fifty villages, a multitude of seats the seclusions of letters and of opulence, and hundreds of farm houses the abodes of comfort and contentment: all presenting, in *coup d'œil*, the association of cultivation, luxury, elegance, refinement, and freedom! What would be his exultation, to find that Liberty had followed him across the Atlantic, and selected, as one of her choicest retreats, the banks and highland scenery of this beautiful river. That since that year (1609) when he saw her rise victorious from an unequal contest, and wave her banners in triumph and defiance over the imperial diadem of Spain, she had, after a long and glorious ascendancy, been exiled from the Republic of the United Provinces, ejected from the cities of Italy, driven from the Cantons of Switzerland, and finally expelled from Europe; that she had fled hither, and by her presence and influence, caused plenty and contentment to smile around; changed the sterility into the fertile, the wild into the richly variegated, the romantic into the picturesque: that here her altars were erected, her praises chanted, and her votaries welcomed with cordial enthusiasm, whether fleeing from the persecution which their attachment to her principles had provoked, or appearing here in the proud character of her invincible champions, to receive the grateful benediction of millions of freemen!*

From a theme of so much interest, let us revert to one which may seem more humble, but was scarcely less auspicious than the triumphs of liberty.

* The well-known subject of this last allusion must be reserved for the bright embellishment of a future page of our History. Then shall we trace the brilliant career of that hero to whom we are so greatly indebted for possessing at this day the high privilege of relating the in-

After remaining in the vicinity of Newburgh, receiving the visits of the natives, making his observations on the highland scenery before him, and the mineralogical appearance of some of the mountains ;* Hudson availed himself of a fair wind on the first of October, and sailed through the highlands, but on getting beyond the mountains, (having gone seven leagues)

dependence and happiness which enliven and beautify the borders of Hudson River. Then shall we pursue the progress of liberty to our shores, and mingle in her triumphs. Then shall we record one of the most resplendent victories in the annals of man: not that of patriotism over selfishness, when roused by the call of country and kindred; not even that of disinterested philanthropy over the love of ease, and the tranquilised plenitude of domestic and social happiness; (a philanthropy which, Howard-like, could enter upon a voyage of universal charity, in behalf not of the infirmities of individuals, but of the liberty of the world when she was making her last struggle for existence;) not such victories, and far less such, as are stained by the blood of the defenceless, and distinguished only for carnage and desolation: but a victory of gratitude in behalf of Republics over the proverbial prejudices of ancient and modern times; a triumphant victory which still resounds from Maine to Louisiana, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and reverberates from the sea-board to the shores of Europe! It was the unbought, unpurchasable, unsolicited, voluntary, tribute of affection, which gratitude elicited from the hearts of ten millions of republican freemen, towards General La Fayette, for his signal services in the achievement of their independence! How strange is the destiny of man! we behold that apostle of Liberty, after an absence of nearly half a century, revisiting the country where Liberty dwells, receiving the reward of his devotion to her cause, and welcomed with cordial enthusiasm even on the very spot* which Hudson so prophetically designated.

* The people of the country came on board, traded some skins, and continued till the middle of the afternoon. They were probably the Wabingi from the western shore, and that branch of the Mahicanni from the eastern shore, which was afterwards denominated Pechami. "The mountayncs look as if some mineralls were in them, for the trees that grow on them are all blasted. They (the natives) brought a stone like to emery (used by glaziers to cut glass,) it would cut iron or steel; but bruised and water put to it, it made a colour like black-lead glistening. It was also good for painter's colours."—*Journal*. See a list of animal, vegetable, and mineral productions which Hudson saw in his voyage, in *Philosophical Discourses* by De Witt Clinton, LL.D. Note 57, p. 117.

* Newburgh, where General La Fayette stopped on his passage up the Hudson River during the present year, (1824.)

his ship was becalmed, and came to anchor a few miles below Peekskill, in the vicinity of Stony Point, and at the mouth of Haverstraw Bay.

Here the native highlanders* came flocking to the ship, expressing their wonder and astonishment to behold a vessel so superior to their canoes, and weapons so much more terrible than their own. Anxious to carry away to their friends some part of this floating world of wonders, and not satisfied with the trifles they received in return for skins, one of the canoes with one man in it lurked about the stern with a thievish tardiness, notwithstanding he was warned off. Watching an opportunity, he at length crawled up the rudder into the cabin window, and stole a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel. The mate (little anticipating that justice, though slow is sure, and would follow him even to the arctic circle) shot at the poor pilferer and killed him. The rest fled panic struck, and in their precipitance some leaped into the water. The ship's boat was manned and sent to recover the articles; one of those who had leaped into the water got hold of the boat, for the purpose of overturning it, (as was thought) but the cook stood ready with his sword, and with one blow cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. This was the first Indian blood shed during the voyage. With this mighty revenge for a trifling injury, they returned to the ship, weighed anchor and sailed six miles, when it being dark, they anchored near Teller's Point, off the mouth of Croton River, near the entrance into Tappan Sea. At daybreak (2d October) they again sailed with a fair wind twenty-one miles, till the tide set too strong against them, when they came to anchor near Fort Washington and Fort Lee at the upper end of Manhattan Island. The two captive Indians who escaped at West Point, had, it might appear, made their way on the west side of the river, rousing on their return the spirits of

* The Wickapy Indians whose principal settlement was in the vicinity of Anthony's Nose.

Sleepy Hollow,* or the more ferocious Manhattæ,† and at the head of the Manhattan Island, probably in the inlet of Harlem river, they had concentrated a force that impatiently awaited the arrival of the rich booty, which they flattered themselves they should obtain. The ship soon appeared, and was hove to near the vicinity of their place of ambush. One of the savages, who had escaped, came out with many others armed with bows and arrows. But Hudson discovering no friendly intention in their approach, suffered none of them to enter the ship. Thereupon two canoes full of men fell back near the stern, and discharged a volley of arrows upon the ship. In retaliation six muskets were fired, and two or three Indians killed. Meantime the main body of the Indians advanced to the point of land (at Fort Washington) and discharged their arrows as the vessel moved slowly along. A cannon was fired on board, and two of the Indians fell; the remainder fled to the woods. Still resolute in their plan, though discomfited in its onset, about a dozen of the boldest and most desperate jumped into a canoe, and advanced to meet the ship. Another cannon was discharged, their canoe shot through, and one man killed. The men stationed on the deck also fired and killed three or four more. This terminated the desultory sea fight, in which nine fell victims to their temerity. The assailants "went their way," and the ship after sailing two leagues, anchored beyond the reach of danger, in what appeared to be a bay near Weehawken, or Hoboken, opposite New-York; here they rode all night, but experienced much wind and rain. The next day (3d) was very stormy, the anchor was driven home in a violent gust, and the ship went aground, but the wind suddenly changing drove her off, the ground being oozy.

On the fourth of October, Hudson left "the great mouth of the great river," and with all sails set put to sea, and sailed south east by east.

* Of the Mahicanni nation, a little north west of White Plains in Westchester. See Irving's Sketch Book.

† Who probably extended to Tappan Bay.

Thus after spending a month of almost uniformly fine weather, but suffering the apprehension of shipwreck, in consequence of the vessel being three times driven on shore, and half a dozen times run aground ;after meeting a more friendly reception, and realizing a more profitable trade from the natives on the west side of the river, than from those on the eastern ; losing one man and killing ten, Hudson completed a discovery, the benefits and glory of which he could neither foresee nor appreciate. His character throughout appears to have been marked with mildness and dignity.

When justly provoked by the first aggression of the Indians in the death of Colman, he sought no retaliation. The mate alone was implicated by the death of the Indian, whose rash curiosity had led him to pilfer some trifles, and the subsequent sacrifice of life was caused in self-defence.

The delay in ascending and descending was principally occasioned by adverse winds. Hudson was eleven days exploring, and eleven returning.*

After his departure from Sandy Hook, Hudson deemed it expedient to hold a consultation with his crew, upon the course which it would be most proper to adopt. The sailors had sometimes wanted necessities, and they had often exhibited symptoms of disaffection, in consequence of the length of the voyage. In fact, they had threatened at one time an open mutiny, and Hudson had frequently found himself in a delicate, if not dangerous, relation to a crew, so heterogeneous and turbulent. This may have been the reason why he had not sufficient control over them, to prevent the plundering expedition at Penobscot Bay, and the effusion of blood on the river. From the same cause, he now found it policy to consult their wishes ; but as might be expected, they were vari-

* A vessel bearing the name of "Hudson" and propelled by steam, now performs the voyage in forty hours. The name of Hudson's vessel, "Half Moon," is that of a spot to which his boat probably reached, and upon which is the village of Waterford.

ous and discordant. The mate* was in favour of wintering in Newfoundland, and seeking Davis's passage ; but such a destination, Hudson strenuously opposed. Although the true reason which prompted him was the fear that the company would take another opportunity to mutiny,† yet he urged to them the probability, that their provisions during the rigour of a northern winter would become exhausted, without affording the means of replenishment ; that many of the men were sick, and by taking the proposed direction, they would probably never reach Holland. None, however, spoke of Holland but Hudson ; and the general silence induced those who were really in favour of going thither, to suspect the sincerity of Hudson's intentions.‡ The result was, that he held his course southeast by east ; at noon of the same day was in latitude 39° 30', and continued towards England, without seeing any land during the residue of the month.§ The vigilant Hudson resolved (says Lambrechsten||) to return to Amsterdam, to communicate his report of the voyage to the directors. The voyage was prosperous ; but when he approached the English coast, a mutiny arose among the crew, of which several were Englishmen. They compelled Hudson to enter Dartmouth, where, " by the grace of God, they safely arrived " on the 7th day of November, 1609,¶ just seven months and a day after he had left the Texel. From Dartmouth, the rumour of his discoveries ere long reached the capital.

Hudson soon gave information of his return to the Dutch East India directors, sending them also a journal of his

* Collection of D. E. Ind. Company Voyages. The mate was a Dutchman. *ib.*

† In Vol. V. Aikin's, Morgan's, and Johnson's General Biography, *art.* " Hudson," it is said, " a mutinous crew prevented him from endeavouring to find a western passage through Davis' Strait."

‡ Coll. of D. E. Ind. Co. Voy.

§ Journal.

|| Short Description, &c.

¶ Journal.

voyage, and an account of his discoveries.* He also offered to go again in search of a north-west passage, provided they would give him five hundred livres in money, more provisions than he before had, and the same wages. He proposed too that the provisions which were already in the ship, should not be taken out, that they should change seven men, but that the crew should still consist of twenty; that he would set sail from *Dartmouth* on the first of *March*; spend the month of April and half of May in killing whales and other creatures near the island of Panar; after that, sail to the north-west, and stay there till the middle of September, and at last return to Holland, by the north-east of Scotland.†

The particular transactions between Hudson and the Dutch East India Company are not given in the accounts of his voyages; but it has been said that they declined his proposals, upon which he returned to England, and re-entered the service of the London Company, who had employed him in his two first northern voyages.‡ Smith§ says, (probably grounding his declaration upon that of some English writers,) "he sold the country, or rather his right to it to the Dutch."

Facts however exist, which concur in rendering each of these statements improbable, and that, 1st, Hudson never re-

* Coll. of D. E. Ind. Voy. De Laet in "Novus Orbis, seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis." Lambrechtsen (in short description, &c.) says, De Laet, one of the Holland^d Directors of the West India Company, who published, in 1624, a History of the West Indies, preserved a part of Hudson's journal, and made us further acquainted with the country of New Netherlands, its inhabitants, climate, and natural productions. This was probably Hudson's own journal, or particular account. The one which we have, is ascribed to his mate, and appears to have been written with great fidelity and care.

† Collec. of Voy. undertaken by Dutch E. Ind. Co. translated &c. ib. p. 68, 70. That Hudson made new proposals is a statement confirmed by English as well as Dutch writers. See Aikin's, Morgan's, and Johnson's General Biog. Vol. V. and Biog. Britan. So Dr. Forster in Northern Voy. d. 333.

‡ Dr. Belknap. American Biog. Dr. Forster's Northern Voyage, see p. 333.

§ History of New-York p. 14. (Carey's edition.)

urned to Holland, 2d, The East India Company did not absolutely decline his proposals, 3d, He never sold his discoveries to the Dutch.

First, we have seen that the ship arrived at Dartmouth; and Lambrechtsen says, that after the Half Moon had been detained at Dartmouth for some time, it was at length permitted to return to the "Fatherland," where it arrived early in 1610. There is, however, no proof that Hudson visited Holland, (previous to his entering the English service in the spring.) Besides the inclemency of the season, other circumstances concurred to prevent him. It has indeed been said by several of the more ancient writers,* that Hudson had made a second voyage from Amsterdam to his discovered river. This is more improbable than either of the above declarations; for it will appear that on the 7th of April, 1610, he commenced under the patronage of the London Company, a voyage to the north, from which he never returned. And if he went at all, it must have been during the rigour of this winter, of which we have not even a probability.†

But secondly, after the rumours of Hudson's discovery had reached the English court at London, and the ears of King James, to whose views, says Lambrechtsen, nothing was more averse, than to allow to the Netherlanders any advantages from transmarine colonies, while in imitation of Queen Elizabeth, he desired to convert the whole to the profits of his own subjects; Hudson was consequently considered a person of importance, and accordingly about the time he received the answer* from the Holland Company, ordering him to sail his ship to Holland, he and the English part of his sailors were forbidden

* Among others, also William Castle, who wrote a small description of America, about the year 1640. [Harleian Collection of Voyages, Vol. II. p. 739. But Professor Ebeling, who quotes this, (in Hist. of Amer.) does not credit the assertion of this second voyage.

† Smith, in his history of the province of New-York, erroneously, therefore, asserts that "in 1610 Hudson sailed again from Holland to this country."

to accompany it, or again to enter the service of the Dutch ; a step which the latter considered the most unprecedented and ungenerous.† Had Hudson been permitted to go, no doubt the East India Company would have continued him in their service ; for upon their obtaining such favourable reports of the countries discovered by him, they considered† these a full compensation for the disappointment of their principal aim—the passage to India by the north.

Thirdly, that Hudson sold the discovered land to the Hollanders, is a declaration which some writers have engrafted upon another still more positively erroneous : namely, that Hudson was in the English service when he discovered this river. That assertion does not at least appear susceptible of any proof, and it is still more questionable when we reflect that Hudson was in the Dutch service, and at that time no claim was allowed to a private person for discovered countries. They were the monopoly of kings or governments. And we shall hereafter see in what way the States General regarded this discovery. Besides, the Hollanders at first had no idea of colonizing or settling the country, but were satisfied with the advantages of the new branch of commerce which arose in consequence of the discovery.

It is said* elsewhere, that the Dutch purchased of Hudson his chart of discoveries on the coast, and sent some ships the

* Says Abm. Yates, jun. in MS. letter 1793, addressed to Jedediah Morse, and in possession of N. Y. Hist. Soc. Mr. Y. also alludes to Hudson's proposal or "intention" to sail to the north in March. Lambrechtsen also says he was forbidden to pursue his voyage towards Amsterdam.

† Lambrechtsen *Korte Beschryvinge*, &c. Van Meteren (B. XXXI. p. 590, &c. cited by Ebeling and by Lambrechtsen) in *Ned. Hist.* relates that the British had not permitted Hudson to go over to Holland himself, to make report of his voyage. Lambrechtsen also says he was forbidden to pursue his voyage towards Amsterdam. In what manner they do not say. Perhaps a mandate from the department of state was then deemed enough ; or the high prerogative writ, *ne exeat regno*, (since converted to a civil remedy in Chancery,) was, perhaps, the remedy then made use of.

next year. They may have done so for the purpose of obtaining a correct guide and direction for their first trafficking visits. The chart was his own, but the right of disposing of newly discovered countries vested in no private individual.† Whatever claim the Dutch Republic, or their East India Company under the States General had, existed without such pretended disposal, and could not be strengthened or weakened by it. If Hudson had not been a native of England, he would have had no right to sell to the Dutch, had he been in English service; neither, vice versa, as he was in the Dutch service, could his birth-place alter their claim, and transfer the benefits of his discovery to England, any more than Italy could have claimed North and South America, because Columbus, Americus, Cabots, and Varrazano, were her natives. And yet it is said that King James made the nativity of Hudson one ground of his claim to this State; but under a prior alleged discovery by the Cabots, natives of Venice, he deduced a still paramount title!

The consequences of this splendid discovery will form a subject for our colonial history. It will be found that the Hollanders, with characteristic sagacity, in the very next year seized the advantages of trading to this river, while Hudson, leaving all to their enterprise and the conflicting claims of the English, prepared to renew for the fourth time, the grand and hazardous attempt to secure an object, which seemed to have become the predominant scope of his ambition.

* Bos. Hist. of the first settlement of Maryland. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. X. p. 293.

† In this point of view is the declaration also considered by Professor Ebeling, and see also Belknap.

§ 54.

In the character of a chivalrous adventurer upon the northern seas, Hudson will appear for the last time combating, not like the hero of Cervantes, with phantoms, but with substantial floating ice islands, living leviathans of the deep, hurricanes and tempests, famine and savages, but worse than all, with ingratitude ! " more hideous than the sea monster."

The London society, which had with so remarkable liberality, fitted out the two first expeditions, prepared for a third. (132) The former having failed in high latitudes, it was now determined to seek for a passage westward of Greenland, by examining the inlets of the American continent, particularly those which Davis saw, but durst not enter, on the western side of his Straits, and through which it was now supposed that one might exist in the South Sea. The ship was named the *Discovery*, manned with twenty-three men, (133) and equipped for the voyage.

The company had insisted upon Hudson's taking with him an able and experienced seaman, whom they designated. This marked confidence in the capacity of another seemed to question his own. From disgust, envy, or from motives now unknown, but assigned at the time in his letter to the company, Hudson, after his departure (April 17, 1610) from Blackwall, put this man, at Lee on the river Thames, into a pink bound to London. After taking this *rash step*, (so denominated by writers, without perhaps possessing the means of properly appreciating its motive, and to which as an example of disobedience, they ascribe a principal cause of his own misfortunes,) Hudson continued on his voyage, and reached (May 6) the Orkneys and northern end of Scotland, which he found less to the north than had been set down. (134) He saw Faro Islands on the eighth, came to the east side of Iceland on the eleventh. Sailed along its southern coast, witnessed Mount Hecla casting forth flames ; (135) and after encountering adverse winds and islands of ice, (136) arrived at

a harbour (30th) (where was a hot spring) on the western part of the island. (137). Hudson was here received hospitably by a people poor and miserable. Here he unfortunately first discovered dissensions among his crew. (138) But a greater misfortune was brooding, of which he was unconscious; for here that disorganising spirit was first cherished, which was to spread in growth and contagion, until it should involve in destruction nearly the whole company.

On approaching and departing from Iceland, his mate Ivet, who, it will be remembered, shed the blood of the first Indian who fell in the exploring voyage upon Hudson River,) had secretly discouraged the expedition, and endeavoured to destroy the confidence of the men in Hudson; alarmed the timid when encompassed by ice, persuaded others to keep their muskets charged and swords ready in their cabins, for there would be blood shed before the voyage ended, and in one instance openly threatened to turn the head of the ship homeward. This mutinous disposition became somewhat apparent to Hudson, but in hopes of amendment, he then calmly endeavoured to pacify it. (139)

On the first of June they left the harbour, sailed westward (in latitude $66^{\circ} 34'$) on the fourth, saw Greenland very clearly over the ice, were off Frobisher's Straits on the ninth, and on the fifteenth descried the land of Desolation ($59^{\circ} 27'$). They had been much encumbered by ice, and were now endangered by whales. Some of them actually came alongside, passed around and under the ship. (140) Having doubled the southern promontory of Greenland, they steered north-west for the American Continent. In their passage across Davis' Straits they were daily obstructed and endangered by ice. It had accumulated in the shape of islands and mountains, one of which overturned not far from the ship, and warned them of the hazard of approaching too near. In endeavouring to avoid one they encountered others, which, the further they proceeded, appeared more numerous and terrifying. On their arrival in a bay near the inlet, as is supposed, of the Great Strait that now bears Hudson's name, and while thus

perilously exposed, a storm arose and drove the ice so rapidly upon the ship, that Hudson was forced to run her into the thickest of it, and abide the storm which raged furiously around them. Some of the crew became dismayed and sick. The tempest at length ceasing, they went to work in order to disentangle the ship from its dangerous mooring. This they effected, but soon found that they were encompassed with apparently limitless ice fields and ice mountains, of which some grounded "in six or seven score fathoms of water." They now directed the ship into every clear sea, where any prospect appeared of getting out; still they were forced by the ice in every direction. After going to the north, north west, west, and south west, they laid the ship's course to the south as the last alternative. Yet the more they strove the worse their situation became, until at length they could proceed no further. Then the stout heart of Hudson sickened. His resolution and courage for the first time failed. He cast his eye over the desolate scene which surrounded them. He saw no prospect or possibility of escaping. "He was in despaire!" (141) Although he afterwards acknowledged that he thought he should have there perished, he did not at that critical moment entirely lose his accustomed decision and energy. Amidst the dismayed looks and broken spirits of his worn-out crew, he assumed a cheerful countenance, and having brought forth his "card," called the company around him, showed them that they had entered more than three hundred miles further than ever any Englishmen had been before them, and he left it to their own choice to proceed or not. (142) But they were too much divided in opinion, and distracted by the prospect before them, to settle upon any destination. The majority cared not whither they went, if they were once extricated from their present peril. A few, however, regardless of their duty and of the cause in which they had all embarked, vented their anger and spleen upon him who was disposed to forget his own sufferings in the deep sympathy he felt for theirs. Hudson beheld, with indignant grief, the renewal of that mutinous disposition which he had witnessed but overlooked

at Iceland. This was not, however, a time to resent or punish. He listened with smothered feelings to words then spoken, but not forgotten. He aimed to pacify, not to inflame; to soothe, not to rebuke unjustifiable resentment; to allay their fears, inspire their hopes, rouse their courage and activity, until at last the crew ceased their clamour, and all went earnestly to work to clear the ship and save themselves.

After toiling a long time, they gained room enough to turn the vessel. They worked her by little and little through the ice, and descried the clear sea at a distance. After struggling a league or two, they entered it, and joyfully pursued their course north and north-west. In the end they discovered (July 8,) a champaign land, but covered with snow, which Hudson named "Desire Provoked."

Having entered the strait that bears his name, the residue of the month (July) was consumed in sailing through it. Hudson gave various names to capes and islands, having on the first sight of the mainland, named it *Magna Britannia*. (143.) He had afterwards taken shelter from an impending storm in a harbour among some rocky islands, the appearances of which were indicative of the effects of an earthquake, and having escaped the rocks, some of which were barely covered by the water, he named them *Isles of God's Mercies*. After thus entering the strait, he had once been driven back by a violent tempest; but at length, after naming and leaving *Salisbury's Foreland*, his ship suddenly fell into a great and whirling sea, from which she also escaped, and finally proceeded (August 4 and 5) through a narrow strait into the great Mediterranean, which now perpetuates the name of Hudson. To the two capes or headlands between which he passed, he gave the names of two of the company who had patronised the enterprise, (viz. Diggs and Wostenholm); as he went through the narrow strait, he fondly cherished the delusion, that he had achieved the long-sought passage. As he approached Diggs' Island, he sent some of his men to ascend its rocky cliffs, to discover the great ocean, which he fancied laid beyond them. The exploring party was retarded by a thunder storm, and af-

ter wandering a short time, returned to the ship. They had found plenty of fowl and deer, and advised Hudson to stay a few days, and replenish his vessel ; but too confidently proud of his discovery to hearken to this salutary counsel, and little thinking that he had entered a bay whence he never should return, he pursued his hurried course southward. Keeping the main land on the left, he came to shoal water, touched the rocks among the Sleepers, encountered a storm, passed along south east between the main and Baker's dozen, discovered afterwards an open sea to the south, and passing between two lands, the southern points of which were not two leagues apart, he reached to the 53° north lat. took in water and ballast, and thence proceeded to the southern limit of the bay. He now turned to retrace his course northward, and to compensate, by further discoveries, the chagrin and disappointment he suffered.

On his directing a retrograde movement, murmurings arose among the crew. The mate and boatswain fanned the embers of discontent, and Hudson, at length, found it necessary to displace them, and substitute others. As this discipline, however deserved, would tend to inflame the passions of the officers discarded, and might render Hudson unpopular with his crew, it was not hastily adopted. On the contrary, he forbore, until his personal safety required that they no longer should continue in authority. A court of inquiry was instituted ; testimony, under oath, was taken. The language and conduct of the mate at Iceland, at the time they were enclosed in the ice, and since their entrance into the bay, proved incontestibly that he had endeavoured to dishearten the men, by enumerating the dangers which they incurred; to weaken their respect by ridiculing the master, and to discourage the enterprise by magnifying its folly. The boatswain was also found guilty. On the 10th of Sept. they were both cashiered, and Robert Bylot (or Billet) and William Wilson, were appointed, the former to the office of mate, the latter to that of boatswain. This measure formed, it is true, another link in the chain of causes that produced the subsequent disasters of Hud.

son, but it was exercised as an act of necessity, and in that conciliatory spirit, which is ever blended with true magnanimity. Hudson admonished his discarded officers, and promised that if they would conduct themselves honestly, not only to forget injuries, but to become the means of doing them good.

The remainder of this month, (September) and the following, passed away in a fruitless and bewildering examination of the bay. It is remarked by a contemporaneous author,* that "Hudson, on finding instead of the India passage, that he was embayed, became distracted, and committed many errors, especially in resolving to winter in that desolate region." This would not seem improbable, when we discover that he passed away the summer in alternately sailing to the north and the south, the east and west, when he should have returned home upon learning his error, knowing that he had brought but six months provisions, and finding not more than thrice, any traces or signs of people. But we follow him to and fro, now on the rocks, in danger of shipwreck, now buffeting the storms, then losing his anchor, until it became too late to leave this "labarynth without end." (144) On the first of November he moored his ship in a small cove on the west side of the bay. In ten days afterwards the vessel was frozen in. It will be found that Hudson here remained until the middle of June.

His first care was to regulate the distribution of provisions, and propound rewards to those who should add to the common stock. In this way, he hoped to preserve the lives of his men until in the spring, when they should reach Diggs' Island. Within two weeks after they commenced wintering, the gunner died. Hudson is charged (145) with uncharitable treatment towards this man; of what description, or under what incitement, we are not informed.

Having neglected to order a shelter to be made before the frost and snow had set in, Hudson now directed the carpenter

* Purchas.

to erect one. He refused, because it was out of season, and did not fall within his duty as the ship's carpenter. Hudson ferreted him out of the cabin to strike him, and reprehended him in severe and threatening language. A miserable shelter was afterwards put up, and the carpenter became one of Hudson's firmest friends: but two incidents which succeeded this quarrel, and the death of the gunner, will appear to have given life and energy to a conspiracy, slow in its progress, but fatal in its consequences.

During the first three months they subsisted on ptarmigans, and other sorts of grouse, of which they killed more than one hundred dozen. In the spring these birds left them, but others succeeded, as swans, wild geese, ducks, and teal; but they were not easily taken, and after their spring-flights from south to north were over, then commenced the season of famine. Those of the company who were not confined by sickness, now searched the woods, hills, and valleys, for every thing that had the show of substance, however vile. Frogs the most loathsome, were not spared. Moss of the ground was eaten. But what afforded them most relief, were the buds and branches of a certain tree, which one of the company (146) had discovered and brought them. They were full of a substance like turpentine. When boiled, a diet drink was made, and the buds applied hot as a poultice to such as had pains in their limbs, from which they found relief. This is supposed to have been the *Tacamahaca* tree, (*populus balsamifera*,) the buds of which containing a glutinous resin, become when decocted, a powerful antiscorbutic, and when boiled and applied, give relief to pains and swellings. (147)

While in this sad extremity, and after the ice had, in the spring, began to break out of the bays, they received a visit for the first time, from an Indian. The appearance at this crisis of one whom they supposed would become the means of procuring them a supply of provisions, was welcomed with great joy. The master treated him with the utmost kindness and attention; collected knives, hatchets, a looking-glass, and buttons, and gave them to him. He received them thankfully, and made

signs that after he had slept, he would come again ; accordingly he returned with his sled, with two deer skins, and two beaver skins, but with no provisions. He had faithfully brought all the articles he had received, laid them on the skins, and the master gave him back several of them. After many signs of people to the north and to the south, and that after so many sleeps he would come again, he went his way, but never reappeared. It was now the beginning of June. The ice having cleared from the sonnd, seven of the men were detached to take the boat with the net. The first day they caught five hundred small fish as good as herring and trout. This unexpected success roused their hopes. The party went out several days successively, but they were less fortunate. Hudson perceiving the woods set on fire at the south and south-west, caused the shallop to be fitted up and victualed for eight or nine days, leaving directions to have water, wood, and ballast taken on board, and the ship prepared for their departure by the time he should return ; he directed his shallop towards that part of the bay where he expected to find the people of the country, and obtain an abundant supply of provisions ; but he unfortunately came back worse than he went, for although the natives set fire to the woods in sight of him, he never could get near them.*

Disappointed and disconsolate, he now prepared all things in order to leave this dreary spot. He had wasted seven months here, and in examining this extensive and inhospitable bay.

* Purchas (in' his Pilgrimage, b. 8,) in his narrative of this disastrous voyage, briefly says, that " at the opening of the yeere there came to the ship's side such abundance of fish of all sorts, that they might therewith have fraught themselves for their return, if Hudson had not too desperately pursued the voyage, neglecting this opportunity of storing themselves with fish, which he committed to the care of certaine carelesse dissolute villaynes, which, in his absence conspired against him : in few dayes the fish all forsooke them." But we have seen from Pricket (who was one of the survivors, and most authentic,) that after the fishing was over, Hudson went out with most benevolent views. The conspiracy alluded to, will be developed presently.

He first delivered all the bread out of the bread room, amounting to a pound only for each, and also a bill of return for them to show, "*if it pleased God that they came home : and he wept when hee gave it unto them.*"*. But to mitigate their wretchedness, the men were once more sent off with the boat and seine, who, after toiling two days and a half, returned to the ship with only four score small fish ; a poor relief for so many hungry persons. The ship, now about the middle of June, sailed from its wintering haven and anchored at its mouth.† Thence Hudson proceeded into the great bay. The bread which he had distributed was already consumed. He now divided equally all the cheese which remained, amounting only to three pounds and a half for each person. He was advised to reserve a part of it, because some from hunger would devour their share at once, as they had their bread.‡ But as some of the cheese was bad, he determined that no cause of complaint should arise, and therefore distributed the whole impartially.

They now steered north-west, but soon came among the ice. In this situation they were detained by contrary winds nearly a week. Here Hudson, it was said, had injudiciously told one of his men that there would be a breaking up of chests for bread, ordering him at the same time to bring his forth. He did so, and thirty cakes in a bag were delivered. This, if true, must have produced a spirit of discontent, which, according to the relation of one of the survivors,§ Hudson neglected to heal. He could not have anticipated, however, that it was the forerunner of an open mutiny, which

* Says Pricket, who was an eye-witness.

† Q. Had they wintered in Hazard's Gulf, or some one of the coves south and eastward from Belcher Islands ?

‡ Green (who will be again named) had given his bread to one to keep, and prayed him not to let him have any for a week. His share was to serve for two weeks ; but before the middle of the first week, he consumed the whole. Wilson, the boatswain, ate his in one day, and "was sick for his labour."

§ Pricket.

proved, eventually, more destructive to all concerned, than any perhaps to be found in maritime annals.

We pass by Hudson's dismissal of the man (148) who had been appointed by the London company, at the commencement of the voyage, to accompany him, as an event which might have been injudicious and censurable, but certainly not one which can be considered, as it has been by some, as the foundation of this mutiny. Fourteen months had elapsed, and in the interim different causes had transpired which led to the catastrophe. Hudson had received a young man by the name of Henry Green, into his house in London as his protege. Born in Kent, and of respectable parentage and connexions; Green had, by his extravagant and debauched life, forfeited their esteem and respect, and reduced himself to penury.

Hudson, either from a generous sympathy, (his characteristic) or a hope of contributing by his care, to the redemption of Green from utter worthlessness, sought to divert him from his dissolute habits, and resolved to take him this voyage, more as a companion and assistant, for he was an excellent writer, than as one of the crew. He was not therefore placed on the shipping articles. To rouse his ambition, Hudson promised him wages; and what was most flattering to his pride, that on their return, he should be made one of the prince's guards. Hudson had clothed and fed him, and thus strove to win his affection and gratitude. Through his intercession, a friend of Green's mother had solicited her for money to purchase clothes for the voyage. But so worthless had he made himself in the eyes of one whose high estimation he should have prized most, that she could hardly be persuaded to advance four pounds, and only on condition that the money should not be delivered to him, but carefully applied to the object for which it was solicited.

Notwithstanding this disinterested goodness on the part of Hudson, (such is the force of dissolute habits, and when fixed, such their paramount ascendancy over every noble aspiration.)

Green took the first opportunity which presented at Harwick, to endeavour to run away with one of the sailors.

When Hudson arrived at Iceland, it was before mentioned that he had the misfortune to witness dissensions among his crew. Green was the source of them. He had violently assaulted the surgeon, which set the whole crew in a rage, and with great difficulty the surgeon was persuaded to re-enter the ship.* This outrage, Hudson's partiality for Green disposed him to extenuate and overlook; and when, after leaving Iceland, he heard that his mate had insinuated that he had brought the young man along as a spy over the rest, such was Hudson's partiality, or such his high sense of honour, that spurned so mean a system of imputed espionage, that he was much disposed to return back forty leagues, in order to send his mate home in one of the fishing vessels.

After the death of the gunner, and the variance between the master and the carpenter, certain occurrences brought together the scattered elements of this deadly conspiracy, because they gave to it a master-spirit in the person of Henry Green. Among the apparel which the gunner had left, was a gray cloth gown. It was usual in such cases at sea, whenever the deceased left any article that the company desired, to bring it to the main-mast, and sell it to the highest bidder. This gown Green took a fancy to have, and prayed Hudson to befriend him so much as to let him have it for the price

* "Here (says Pricket) the Surgeon and hee fell out in *Dutch*, and he beat him ashore in *English*, which set all the company in a rage; so that wee had much adoe to get the Surgeon aboard. I told the master of it, but hee bade mee let alone, 'for (said hee) the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had.' But Robert Ivet would needs burne his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale, (when hee was drunke) 'that our master had brought in Greene to cracke his credit that should displease him:' which wordes came to the master's ears, and he would have gone back to Island, when he was fortie leagues from thence, to have sent home Robert Ivet in a Fisher-man. But being otherwise persuaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master and was a servicable man every way for manhood: but for religion he would say, 'he was cleane paper, whereon he might write what he would.'"

any other would give. Hudson complied with his request, and refused others who sought it.

The day after the controversy with the carpenter, while Hudson was still inflamed by his refusal to erect a shelter for the company, Green accompanied the carpenter on a hunting excursion. This so incensed Hudson, that he caused the gown to be delivered to his new mate. Green now challenged his promise ; but Hudson railed at him, and upbraided him in a very irritating harshness of manner.

This trifling article, this gown, (like the handkerchief in Othello, so potent in the hands of an Iago,) became an instrument to a most tragical issue. (149) For from this time to the denouement of the catastrophe, Green cultivated a most implacable hatred towards Hudson, and secretly did him every possible injury. Six months however elapsed ; a winter of extreme suffering had been witnessed ; rancour of feeling would have naturally become absorbed in the all-powerful sympathy, which a community of sickness, of famine, of distress, of despair, would engraft upon callous insensibility. But if Green's feelings were too indurated to become affected by such scenes, there was a still, small voice, which, with a monitory emphasis, called upon him not to abandon, betray, and murder his friend, his patron, and benefactor. It was the voice of gratitude. But even this did not arrest, though it may have protracted the mad scheme which he had secretly plotted. There was a time when the bent of his inclination would have been fortunate for Hudson, had it not been counteracted. A part of the crew, viz. Green, Wilson, Perce, Thomas, Moter, Bennet, and Arnold Ladlo,* composed a fishing party before Hudson had set sail to seek relief from the natives. At that time, while engaged in fishing, Green and Wilson, with some of the others, plotted to take the net and shallop which the carpenter had fitted up, and shift for themselves. But Hudson concluding to go in it himself, frus-

* Who appears to have been with Hudson in his second voyage, and he remained faithful in this.

trated their plan. The seeds of conspiracy were however sown in a soil already fitted by a long and careful cultivation, and required only some extra excitement, and the skill of a bold hand to bring them into rapid vegetation. The infamous Green will appear most prominent in activity, as well as the basest in ingratitude; and the famished condition of the company at the time of the catastrophe, will constitute the immediate excitement to the development of a plot so long in fermentation. Next was Wilson in the scale of graduated crime. He had been appointed boatswain in the stead of the discarded one, and he also stood stamped with the sin of ingratitude. Ivet, the discarded mate, although less openly active, was more insidiously decided, and in the work of mutiny was more cautious, because more aged. Subordinate to these were Thomas the gunner, Bennet the Cook, Moter and Perce, sailors. These were all who took the strange and unprecedented oath of conspiracy, which will be recited presently.

The unguarded declaration said to have been made by Hudson to one of his crew, that a general search among the chests should be made for provisions, seems to have been the signal for the ringleaders to commence the tragedy.

Accordingly while at anchor in the ice, (June 21,) Green and Wilson went at dead of night to Pricket, who lay lame in his cabin, and disclosed the plot. The latter had been a servant to Sir Dudley Diggs, (one of the London company). The conspirators were determined to save him, in hopes that through his influence, his master might intercede to obtain a pardon for the crime they meditated. In vain did Pricket urge to them the blackness of such a deed, the considerations of wife and children made miserable, the tie that bound them to their native soil, severed for ever if they persisted. But their resolution was not to be shaken. Then they were urged to delay; but no, their party was firm; and lest their courage should flag, and the mischief they intended for others, light upon themselves, they were determined to put their plan into immediate execution. Then Pricket prayed them to postpone it for twelve hours; no, they would do the

deed that night. Then he told them, it was blood and revenge they sought, or they would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Green now seized a bible before him, and swore he would do no man harm, and what he did was for the good of the voyage, and nothing else. The like oath, he said, all should take, and went out. Accordingly six others appeared alternately, and were those already named. The oath administered by Pricket was in these words: "You shall swear truth to God, your Prince and countrie: you shall doe nothing but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." The oath as thus administered contained nothing in it incompatible with their duty, although Pricket, on his arrival in Enland, was thought by some, to have been implicated in the conspiracy for having administered it. But it must have been singularly misinterpreted by those who took it, or they were guilty of most unparalleled hypocrisy and profanity.

The mutineers finally concluded to defer the execution of their plan till daylight. In the meantime Green kept company with Hudson, and Iago-like, fawned about the devoted victim of his treachery: others were on the alert about the ship. They had determined to put the carpenter and Henry King, (cabin mate of Robert Billet) with Hudson, his son, and the sick, into the shallop.* They had proscribed the carpenter and King on pretence of some injustice done about the victuals; but with respect to the carpenter in reality, because Hudson loved him, and had, after leaving his wintering haven, made him his mate instead of Billet; but they finally concluded that they could not spare the carpenter. It happened this night that King was up late, and had lain on deck with the carpenter. He descended to his cabin about break of day. Soon after the cook went down for water for the kettle. King for some purpose went into the hold. The conspirators shut down the hatches. Hudson hearing the noise, or rising early as usual, came up. Green and another, meantime had held the car-

* There were twenty-two, besides Green, on board, after the loss of the gunner

penter in talk till the master came out of his cabin. As he went on deck, John Thomas, the gunner, (cabin mate of Ivet,) and Bennet (the cook,) came before Hudson, while Wilson, (his boatswain,) sprang up behind and bound his arms. He asked them "what they meant." They replied, "he should know when he was in the shallop."

Meantime Ivet went into the hold where King was, who kept him at bay with a sword, and would have killed him, but numbers coming, he was overpowered. Hudson called to the carpenter and told him he was bound; but the latter could render him no assistance. Now Ladlo and Bute railed at the conspirators, telling them "their knavery would show itself." The shallop was hastily hauled up. The sick and lame were demanded. Hudson now called Pricket; he came up to speak with him, but the mutineers interfered; then on his knees he besought them "for the love of God to remember themselves, and do as they would be done unto." They bade him begone into his cabin. After he went back, Hudson called to him "at the horne which gave light into his cabin, and told him that 'Ivet would overthrow them all.'" "Nay, replied Pricket, it is that villain Henry Green."

Hudson now bound, was in the boat; his son John (a youth who had been with his father in all his voyages,) was thrown alongside of him. Then were the sick and lame driven out of their cabins into the shallop, viz: Thomas Woodhouse, (Wydhouse) who had studied the mathematics, and had gone out with Hudson as a volunteer, and was now confined by sickness; Sidrack Faner, who was lame; and Michael Bute and Adam Moore, who had never been well since the loss of the anchor. Henry King had been forced into the boat, and it was with the utmost difficulty they got Ladlo (the surgeon,) and Bute in, both of whom had railed at them in the beginning. Last came the carpenter, (Staff,) who, although invited to remain, would not stay with such villains, but only requested and received his chest of tools, and got from them, one gun, powder and shot, some pikes, an iron pot, with some meal and a few other articles. He first went to take leave of Pricket, (who

could hardly move by reason of lameness he had contracted during the coldness of the winter). Pricket urged him to remain and use his influence to induce them to take back the rest. But the carpenter believed they would be glad to receive them, for he was assured by the master, that not one in the ship could navigate her home. He said the boat would follow the ship, and requested Pricket if he arrived at the capes first, to leave some token that he had been there, near the place where the fowls breed, and he, the carpenter, would do the like. And so with tears they parted.*

The anchor was now weighed, the sails set, and they steered out of the ice. The shallop with nine on board, was still fastened to the stern; but when the ship was nearly out of the ice, the rope was cut, and they parted for ever. (Sunday, June 21, 1611.)

In the ship were fourteen, seven had taken the oath; two or three more were lame; and among the rest, some were disaffected towards Hudson, though not apparently active; and others, constituting a small minority, silently acquiesced. But some of those who were not active on deck, were busy below; for they went to work as if the ship had been taken by force, and they had free leave to pillage, breaking up chests, and rifling all

* "But see (says the venerable Purchas) what sinceritie can doe in the most desperate tryals: Philip Staffe an Ipswich man, who, according to his name, had been a principal *staffe* and stay to the weaker and more enfeebled courages of his companions in the whole action, lightning and inlightning their drooping darkened spirits, with sparkes from his owne resolution; their best purveyor, with his peece on shore, and both a skilfull carpenter and lusty mariner on boord; when hee could by no perswasions, seasoned with teares, divert them from their devilish designes, notwithstanding they intreated him to stay with them, yet chose rather to commit himselfe to God's mercie in the forlorne shallop, than with such villaines to accept of likelier hopes." Clements (the discarded boatswain) and the lame cooper, were, it seems, on the list of proscription. But Thomas was Clement's friend, and Bennet the cook, was the cooper's. Green insisted that they should go; but the others swore they should not, but those in the shallop should return rather. So Green was compelled to give way.

places. It is impossible to designate the place where this foul conspiracy took effect; but it was off the east shore of the bay, not very far north from their wintering place, and probably between one and two hundred miles south from Cape Diggs; for it will appear that more than a month elapsed before the ship reached the place where justice was prepared to exact an awful retribution.

Having cut the fast to the boat, they out with topsails, and sailed eastward into a clear sea. In the end they took in the topsails, righted helm, and lay under foresail till they ransacked the ship. In the hold and master's cabin they found a considerable quantity of provisions. While they were thus busied, it was proclaimed that the shallop was within sight. Then Pricket implored them to relent. But although they had thus gained an unexpected accession to their stock of provisions, and might at least have taken the boat in tow till they reached some of the capes, where Hudson and his companions could have obtained relief, and perhaps the means to get to Europe in the end, yet the mutineers evidently had no desire that they should ever live to return home. On the contrary, they set their sails and hastened away as from an enemy.

At last, approaching too near the east coast, they shifted towards the west, and arriving near an island, put out their net, but the rocks prevented them from fishing. But they gathered large quantities of cockle grass. (150) Here they lay over night and greater part of next day, but they never saw the shallop. Whether Hudson, on seeing the ship fly from him, had shifted his course towards the south western part of the bay, where he had seen fires enkindled; whether, as was preconcerted by the carpenter, he steered to Diggs' Cape and was massacred; whether, before he reached it, he died by famine, (for he had but a small stock of provisions) or perished in the ice, (for the bay was filled with miles of it) or was swallowed in the waves, (for storms succeeded) are inquiries which no one could ever satisfy. All that is known is, that Hudson and his eight companions never were heard of.

But if a conjecture might be hazarded, it would be, that after suffering the horrors of famine, they were finally entangled in the ice and perished.

The mutineers continued in an irregular course till the last of the following month (July). They were sometimes bewildered, but directed with most skill by Robert Bylot (Billet). They were embayed two weeks in ice, such as they had never seen for its vast surface : it reached miles into the bay, and carried by the tides, that set from north-west, they worked through it with great difficulty, when keeping the eastern shore to their right, the ship suddenly struck on a rock, but got off : had she struck again, it was feared she would have been wrecked. At last they reached the capes, and among the islands at the mouth of the strait they run on another rock at an ebb, which came from the east. Here they continued for hours until the flood, which came from the west, floated the ship. During their course hitherto, all the confusion and disorder had prevailed, unavoidably incidental to a condition whence command and subordination had been banished. They began to talk among themselves, that England was not a safe place for them. Green, who became their captain, swore that the ship should keep the sea until he had the king's hand and seal for his safety.

Previously to their running on the rock the last time, they had sent off their boat and some men, who killed many birds near the capes. After the ship was afloat, they pursued their course, and endeavoured to get some fowl near Cape Diggs. The boat as it approached the shore, had met seven canoes turning the eastern point towards them. The savages drew back, but soon becoming familiar, the parties exchanged hostages, and met in tents of the natives;* where they mani-

* "In which tents they lived by hordes, men, women, and children ; they are bigge-boned, broad-faced, flat-nosed, and small footed, like the Tartars ; their apparell of skiones, but wrought all very handsomely, even gloves and shooes. The next morning, *Green* would needs goe on shore with some of his chiefe companions, and that unarmed, notwithstanding some advised and intreated him to the contrary."—*Purchas*.

fested great joy, by dancing, leaping, and stroking their breasts. They offered a variety of things, so that the men returned to the ship rejoicing, as if they had met the most kind and simple people in the world. Green, in particular, was so confident that he became perfectly blinded, and considered any precaution altogether needless.

The next day (July 20, 1611) the mutineers hurried off, taking the lame Pricket to guard the articles in the boat. The ship, meantime, was brought up into the channel, off from where they landed.

As they approached the shore, the people were on the hills dancing and leaping.*

The boat was fastened; Pricket remained in its stern; Green, Wilson, and Thomas met the savages on the beach, as they flocked down the hill, and immediately displayed their articles of traffic. Perce and Moter ascended a rock to pick sorrel. All were apparently unarmed. While in this situation one savage stepped into the boat, but Pricket, more suspicious than the rest, ordered him out; another unobserved stole behind Pricket as he sat down, stabbed him twice before he could seize a dagger by his side, and plunged it into the breast of this chief of the savages. (151) Meantime those on shore were beset on all sides. Green and Wilson came tumbling into the boat mortally wounded. Moter rushed from the rocks, jumped into the sea, and clung to its stern. Perce with a hatchet fought his way to the head of the boat, laid one savage dead, pushed off the boat, helped Moter in, and with his assistance rowed off amidst a shower of arrows from the shore. Green was now shot dead, and the rest wounded. Perce fainted before they got to the ship. The majority of the mutineers died the same day, Wilson cursing and swearing in the most fearful manner.

Thus perished these infatuated men. One more ringleader still lived, but he lived only to meet a more lingering, but not

* The island is described as rocky and uneven, full of high hills and craggy cliffs.

less effectual vengeance than that which had pursued his co-adjutors. Ivet, notwithstanding the glorious distinction in which he had shared in former voyages, (sullied, indeed, by his cold-blooded cruelty while on Hudson river) had now thrown all into the shade, by the infamy attached to his character as first, if not most prominent, in this fatal mutiny.

The survivors, at the peril of their lives, afterwards went among the capes, and supplied themselves with fowl, but on arriving in the bay at the inlet of Hudson's Straits, they found it necessary to adopt short allowance, and to husband their stock in such a manner, as to make use of the skins of the fowls, and even the garbage. They now steered for the *Desolations* ; but on the persuasion of Ivet, that by going to Newfoundland they would find relief from their countrymen, or from what they had left behind, if they should have departed conformably to his advice, they altered their course, but a southwest wind meeting them not long after, they concluded to shape their way to Ireland. To give an idea of their sufferings, at which humanity shudders, it will suffice to say, that they were reduced after their meal was gone, to take salt broth for dinner, and half a fowl for supper. Their distress increasing, they took the bones of birds they had eaten, fried them in tallow, and with vinegar ate them with greediness. The vinegar was now shared ; one pound of candles became the allowance for a week, and were deemed a great dainty. They were yet several hundred miles from Ireland. The men became unable to stand at the helm, but sat and steered. Just as they had lost all hopes of reaching Ireland, *Robert Ivet* died for mere want ; suffering, in the horrid death by famine, the same dreadful misfortune which he was so instrumental in inflicting upon Hudson. The men were in despair. The last fowl was in the steep tub. They cared not which way the vessel went, and seemed altogether regardless of their fate, when the sight of land was announced. Columbus could not have been so overjoyed, when his sailors cried 'Land!' as were these wretched survivors. They steered towards the coast, and in the end raised the joyful cry of 'a sail!' It

proved a fishing bark, which took them into a harbour in Ireland, Sept. 6th, 1611 ; (152) and through the generous interest of its commander, (153) and the humanity of a stranger, (154) they were enabled to reach Dartmouth, thence to Gravesend, (where most of them went ashore) and proceeded to London, to make report to Sir Thomas Smith, one of the principal members of the society and owners of the ship, who, not having heard from them for nearly a year and a half, had believed them lost.

The sensation produced in London upon the disclosure of these tragical events, may be conceived to have been very great. Such indeed was the interest felt in England, that the London company, prompted by the benevolent motive of searching for Hudson and his companions, flattered also by the hope, that the flood-tide described near Diggs' Island as coming from the west, might proceed from an unexplored passage at the western side of the bay, fitted out another expedition the following year, which, after wintering, returned disappointed in both objects of search. (155)

Hudson had become deservedly a favourite with a large portion of the British public. The English long regretted the loss of their countryman, whose achievements as a navigator had reflected honour on a nation already distinguished for its illustrious seamen. Hudson's personal qualities and virtues, displayed during his four voyages, at times which were calculated to try character, will ever be contemplated with admiration and pleasure ; but to the citizens of the State of New-York, the character of this heroic navigator will be peculiarly the theme of eulogium, and his misfortunes the subject of regret.

When the internal improvements of this State shall be complete, then the great chain of lakes and streams at the west and the north will become united with the river which Hudson discovered. When the same grand system of public policy, which will have brought those improvements to perfection, shall, at no remote period, meet a corresponding zeal and enterprise already indicated beyond the confines of this State, then the philanthropist and the statesman will behold the navi-

gable waters of the bay where Hudson perished, brought, by artificial means, nearly in contact with those of the northern shores of Lake Superior; and the majestic Mississippi, mingling her waters with those of the great interior seas, shall unite in one vast circle with the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, in contributing their varied and accumulated treasures to enrich the borders and swell the proud tide of Hudson river!

From such views and anticipations, Hudson was precluded. It was reserved for those of the present generation to realize them,—to recall the memory of him, whose daring intrepidity first opened a vista then so dark, but now so radiant, to the prophetic glance of reason, founding its deductions in past experience and actual experiment. But in recalling the memory of those who have bestowed great benefactions on mankind, it is to hold up to view their characters for emulation and applause, and at the same time to pay to truth that homage which shall place the tribute or the censure where it is justly merited.

Hudson was not faultless, but no record imputes to his conduct any crime or wilful vice. He had at times that irritability of passion, which is so peculiarly the trait of those whose lives are passed upon the ocean. But few, who have so conflicted with its dangers, and at the same time combated the turbulent dispositions of mutinous crews, could have preserved presence of mind, exercised moderation, and displayed magnanimity in a more exalted manner, than Hudson. His faults, whatever they were, are eclipsed by the splendour of his virtues. When the river which he discovered shall display upon its banks, in a range of three hundred miles, a free, vigorous, and intelligent population, crowded into numerous additional cities, villages, seats, and farm houses, the merits of Hudson will be reiterated with increased praise, while his name shall be handed down from generation to generation.

Having, under the preceding division of the present part of the history, closed our investigation into the discoveries and conflicting claims of England, France, Spain, and Holland, to the territory now comprehended within this State, we will proceed to inquire into the principle to which those powers acceded, as the basis of their respective interest.

§ 55.

Fourthly : What principles of international law should govern the European powers in their partition of this continent, and regulate them with regard to the rights of the original owners or native occupants.

This inquiry will involve the foundation of title to the domain of this State, and the nature and extent of Indian title to the soil.

It has been heretofore remarked, that those principles were early settled from necessity among the majority of the partitioning powers. When the United States' republic succeeded Great Britain in sovereignty over the North American provinces, the basis of title to dominion over the realty throughout the continent, rested upon those principles of conventional international law. The title which Great Britain passed to the United States upon the recognition of their independence, consequently depended upon the same principles. But the title by which this State holds exclusive territorial sovereignty as an imperium in imperio, is founded upon a discrimination between the national and state sovereignties, resulting from the rights granted or reserved by the State, as they were defined and guaranteed first by the articles of confederation and perpetual union, and afterwards by the constitution of the United States. Since the exercise of those sovereignties, certain principles of constitutional adoption or municipal enactment have been engrafted upon those which constituted the foundation of European title, and were designed to illustrate the extent of the broad principle when viewed in its corollaries, or to define with precision to whom the native could dispose of his right to the soil, and to whom he could not.

Those principles are declared in two recent, simultaneous, and concurrent adjudications, by the tribunals of dernier re-

sort of the United States, and this State.* The opinion in the first case† was pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall, and the decision in the last,‡ was predicated upon the opinion delivered by Chancellor Kent. From the luminous expositions of those distinguished ornaments of the judiciary, the following abstract has been condensed.

On the discovery of this continent, the great nations of Europe, eager to appropriate as much of it as possible, and conceiving that the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people, over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy, adopted, as by a common consent, this principle, First, That *discovery* gave title to the government, by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. Hence, although a vacant country belongs to individuals who first discover it, and who acknowledge no connexion, and owe no allegiance to any government, yet if the country be discovered and possessed by the emigrants of an existing acknowledged government, the possession is deemed taken for the nation, and title must be derived from the sove-

* See also *Grotius*, Lib. 2. *Puffend.* Lib. 4. *Ruthford*, Vol. II. *Vattel*, B. 1. & 2. *Marten*, Law of N. *Montesquieu*, Tom. II. *Lock on Gov.* *Justinian*, Lib. 2. Tit. 1. *Molloy de jure Mar.* *Morse's Report on Indian affairs*, p. 67 appendix p. 279, to 284.

† *Johnson & Graham's Lessee vs. McIntosh*, 3. *Wheaton's Rep.* 543, 505, Anno 1823. This cause came before the Supreme Court of the United States, on a writ of error, to the District Court of Illinois, upon a case stated. The action was originally brought by ejectment for lands in that state, claimed by the plaintiffs in error of devisees of a testator claiming under an original title by deeds executed in 1773 and 1775, by (and under which no possession had ever been had from) the Piankeshaw and Illinois Indians. The defendant claimed under a grant from the United States, to whom the *locus in quo* had been previously ceded by those Indian tribes, though subsequently to the conveyance to the plaintiffs. The judgment below for defendant was affirmed in Error.

‡ *Goodell vs. Jackson*, 20. *Johnson's Rep.* 693, in Court of Errors of N. Y. in which the same case in 20. *Johns.* 188 was reversed.

reign organ, in whom the power to dispose of vacant territories is vested by law.

Secondly : Resulting from the above principle as qualified, was that of the sole right of the discoverer to acquire the soil from the natives, and establish settlements either by purchase or conquest. Hence also the exclusive right cannot exist in government, and at the same time in private individuals ; and hence also,

Thirdly : The natives were recognised as rightful occupants, but their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.

Fourthly : The ultimate dominion was asserted, and as a consequence, a power to grant the soil while yet in the possession of the natives. Hence, such dominion was incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians. Consequently, from the foregoing principle, and its corollaries, the Indians had no right to sell to any other than the government of the first discoverer, nor to private citizens, without the sanction of their government. Hence the Indians were to be considered mere occupants, to be protected indeed while in peace, in the possession of their lands, but with an incapacity of transferring the absolute title to others.

Fifthly : The United States have acceded to those principles which were the foundation of European title to property in America. The Declaration of Independence gave us possession, and the recognition by Great Britain of the same, gave title to all the lands within the boundary lines described in the treaty that closed our revolutionary war, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and having become possessed of all the right that Great Britain had, or which before the separation we possessed, but no more ; hence the exclusive power to extinguish that right, was vested in that government which might constitutionally exercise it. Therefore each State before the union, and each State since (within its circumscribed territorial jurisdiction,) possessed and possesses,

by its government, the exclusive right to purchase from the Indians.

Sixthly : That the allodial property in the territory of this State, or that which has become exclusively vested in the United States, is solely in the Government respectively, and that no foreign grant or title can be recognised by its Courts of Justice.

Spain, though deriving a grant from the Pope, was compelled to rest her title on discovery ; Portugal to the Brazils ; France to Canada, Acadia, and Louisiana ; Holland to the discoveries of Henry Hudson. England, though she wrested the Dutch possessions on the ground of pre-eminent right, asserted it on the same principle, tracing her right to the discovery of the Cabots ; and extending her claim from the 34° to the 48° of north latitude.*

This principle of ultimate domain, founded on discovery, is recognised in the wars, negotiations, and treaties of the European nations claiming territory in America. Such were the contests of France and Spain, as to the territory on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico ; between France and Great Britain from their nearly contemporaneous settlements, till the treaty of Paris 1763, when France ceded and guaranteed to Great Britain Nova Scotia (or Acadia) and Canada, with their dependencies. Their respective boundaries became also fixed from the source of the Mississippi through the middle of that river and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea. The country on the English side, though a great part occupied by the Indians, was ceded to Great Britain. She relinquished to France all pretensions to that west of the Mississippi. Although not in actual possession of a foot of land, she surrendered all right to acquire the country ; and any attempt to purchase it from the Indians, would have been treated as an invasion of the territories of France. By the same treaty, Spain ceded Florida with its dependencies and all the country she claimed east or south-east of the Mississippi,

* See *ante*. p. 173.

to Great Britain. By a secret treaty, executed about the same time, France ceded Louisiana to Spain, and Spain has since retroceded the same country to France. During these cessions and retrocessions, a great portion of the country was in possession of the Indians. This was also the case when the right of ultimate dominion was asserted by actual settlements. The charter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, renewed in that to Sir Walter Raleigh; the charters of James I. successively vacated, surrendered, annulled, or renewed, to the north and south Virginia Companies, until that to the Duke of Lenox and others, in 1620, were all granted while the country was in occupation of the Indians. Under the last-mentioned patent, viz. to the Plymouth Company, New-England has, in a great measure, been settled. They conveyed to Henry Roswell and others, in 1627, the territory of Massachusetts, who, in 1628, obtained a charter of incorporation. Having granted a great part of New-England, the company made partition of the residue in 1635, and surrendered their charter to the crown. A patent was granted to Gorges, for Maine, which was allotted to him in the division of property. New-Hampshire was granted to Mason. Before the surrender of the colony, now New-York, in 1664, the King had granted to the Duke of York, the country of New England as far as the Delaware bay. The Duke subsequently transferred New-Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. And yet, during these events, a great proportion of the country was in possession of the Indians. In 1663 the Crown granted to Lord Clarendon, and others, the country lying between the 36th degree of north latitude and river St. Mathes: in 1666 the proprietors obtained a new charter, granting to them that province, in the King's dominions in North America, from 36° 30' north latitude to the 29th degree, and from the Atlantic to the South sea. Thus our whole country, the soil as well as the right of dominion, was granted while occupied by the Indians. However extravagant the pretension may appear, of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into conquest; if the principle has been asserted in

the first instance, and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it, it becomes the law of the land, and cannot be questioned. Abstracted therefore from speculative opinion, conquests gives a title that Courts of Justice, at least of the conqueror, must recognise.

The law of conquest, founded in force, but limited by that humanity or policy which incorporates the conquered with the victorious, spares all wanton oppression, and protects title to property, whether the vanquished became incorporated or governed as a distinct society, was incapable of application to the aborigines of this country. The tribes of Indians were fierce savages, whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country, was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people, was impossible, because they were as brave and as high-spirited as they were fierce, and were ready to repel by arms every attempt on their independence. To mix with them was impossible. The Europeans were then compelled either to abandon the country, and all claim to their discovery, remain exposed to perpetual hazard of massacre, or enforce their claim by the sword. Wars, in which the whites were not always aggressors, ensued. European policy, numbers, and skill, prevailed. As the white population advanced, that of the Indians necessarily receded. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of agriculturalists, became unfit for them. The game fled into thicker and more unbroken forests, and the Indians followed. The soil to which the crown originally claimed title, being no longer occupied, was parcelled out according to the will of the sovereign power, and taken possession of by those claiming under. Hence the absolute title and exclusive right of extinguishing that of the Indian occupants, having been vested in, and exercised by, government, cannot consequently exist at the same time in private individuals; and hence also such exclusive right in government was incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians. The concomitant prin-

ciple, that the Indians were to be considered merely as occupants, to be protected indeed while in peace, in the possession of their lands, but with an incapacity of transferring the absolute title to others, however opposed to natural right, and to the usages of civilized nations ; yet if it be indispensable to that system, under which the country has been settled, and be adapted to the actual condition of the two people, it may perhaps be supported by reason, and certainly cannot be rejected by courts of justice. The British government, then ours, whose rights have passed to the United States, asserted a title to all the lands occupied by the Indians within the chartered limits of the British colonies. It asserted also a limited sovereignty over them, and the exclusive right of extinguishing their title by occupancy. These claims have been established as far west of the Mississippi by the sword. The title to a vast portion of the lands we hold, originates in them. It is not for the courts of this country to question the validity of this title, or to sustain one which is incompatible with it, inasmuch as the United States have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They maintain the principle which has been received as the foundation of all European title in America. They hold and assert in themselves the title by which it was acquired, either by purchase or by conquest. By the treaty of peace that closed our revolutionary war, Great Britain relinquished all claim, not only to the government, but to the "propriety and territorial rights of the United States," whose boundaries were fixed in the second article. By this treaty, the powers of government and the right to the soil, which had previously been in Great Britain, passed definitely to these States. We had before taken possession of them by declaring independence ; but neither the declaration or treaty could give us more than that we before possessed, or to which Great Britain was before entitled. It has never been doubted that either the United States, or the several states, had a clear title to all the lands within the boundary lines de-

scribed in the treaty, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and that the exclusive power to extinguish that right was vested in that government, which might constitutionally exercise it. Thus Virginia, as early as 1779, passed an act declaring her exclusive right of pre-emption from the Indians, of lands within her chartered territory, and that no individual could purchase without authority from government, thus affirming the broad principle, that the exclusive right to purchase was in government. States, having within their chartered limits, territory covered with Indians, ceded them generally to the United States, on conditions expressed in their deeds, which show that the soil, as well as jurisdiction, was ceded as a productive fund to the government of the Union. Thus lands in Illinois were within the chartered limits of Virginia, and were ceded with the whole country northwest of Ohio river to the United States. They were occupied by numerous warlike tribes ; but the exclusive right of the United States to extinguish their title and grant the soil, has not been doubted. Disputed boundaries settled by treaty of 1795, between the United States and Spain, included territory occupied by Indians, claimed by both nations, but ceded to the United States. The magnificent purchase of Louisiana from France, was that of a country occupied by numerous independent tribes of Indians. Yet any attempt of others to intrude into that country, would be considered an aggression which would justify war. Our late acquisitions from Spain are of the same character ; and the prior negotiations recognise and elucidate the principle which has been thus received as the foundation of European title, and that upon which the dominion to property now rests in this country.

In New-York, prior to the confederacy of the Union, the same principle as that which was confirmed in Virginia, was adopted as an article (37th,) of the constitution of 1777, and re-incorporated in that of 1822, (article 7, Sec. 12.) It rendered contracts for land with the Indians in this State, void, unless sanctioned by the legislature. Before and since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, various

legislative provisions have been made, relative to the different Indian tribes and nations within the State. Judicial decisions have also followed, some of which* were deemed to run counter to the broad principle as settled in the last case† by the courts, and were therefore reversed directly or virtually. But it had been early settled, that possession of Indians did not invalidate a patent from the State,‡ and that sales by *Indians* were void, made to the whites without legislative sanction.§ But in the final decision of the Court of Errors, it was considered, that from the constitutional provisions of the State, from the object and policy of the act relative to the different tribes and nations within this State,|| declaring such purchases, (without legislative sanction,) a penal offence; from the construction in *pari materia* of the whole code of Indian statute law, from the special act of 1778 to that of 1801, (reviving the first without its preamble,) up to that of 1810; from a review of the history of the six nations, from their first alliance with the Dutch, until the surrender of the colony to the English, and from the time when they placed themselves under the protection of the latter to the present period, having for more than a century been under their and our protection; from the resolutions of Congress and public treaties, all combining to elucidate the principle of pre-eminent claim, and from the whole scope and policy of these constitutional and legislative provisions originating in the cautious and parental policy of government to protect the Indians in the possession of their lands from the frauds and imposition, superior cunning, and sagacity of the whites; they were to be deemed

* *Goodell vs. Jackson*, 20 Johns. 188. *Jackson vs. Sharp*, 14 Johns. 472. *Jackson vs. Brown*, 15 Johns. 264. vide etiam *Gilbert vs. Wood*, 7 Johns. 290.

† *Goodell vs. Jackson*, 20 Johns. 693.

‡ *Jackson, &c. vs. Hudson*, 3 Johns. 370.

§ *Dana vs. Dana*, 14 Johns. 181.

|| Sess. 36, ch. 92, et vide 3 Johns. 375. 9 Johns. 362. 7 Johns. 290. 14 Johns. 181.

as incapable of aliening, as *inopes concillii*, and therefore, that although they are to be regarded not as citizens, but as independent allies, or alien communities, still continuing under the protection of government, and exempt from the civil municipal laws, which regulate citizens, (though not from the operation of our criminal code for crimes committed within our jurisdictional limits, though among themselves ;*) nevertheless, all contracts for lands, whether from a tribe or nation—from *Indians* or from an *individual* Indian, whether such individual be an Indian *heir*, deriving from a military grant from government, (which, though presumed from lapse of time to have issued lawfully, must be construed as a grant to the Indian and his *Indian* heirs or assigns,) yet such is their total incapacity to convey to whites, that all contracts for lands are not only void,† but reciprocally inoperative,‡ except such individual sales as shall first receive, pursuant to the act of the legislature,§ the approval of the Surveyor General of the State, to be endorsed on the deed from such Indian.¶

Such being the principles of international law as sanctioned before and since our revolution; such the municipal regulations of our general and State governments since, and such the foundation to the domain of this State; no title derived from the grant of any Indians, unless received mediately from our government, and none from any foreign government can be recognised in our courts of justice, so long as all title is vested in, and must emanate from the United States, or a State, under whichever jurisdiction the land may be a part of its sovereignty.||

* By the declaratory act of New-York, of April 12, 1822, Sess. 45, vide 2 Johns. cases, 344.

† 20 Johns. 693, 703, 705, 709-734.

‡ Vide 19 Johns. 181.

§ Sess. 36. ch. 92, sec. 55, et vide 14 Johns. 181, 15 Johns. 264, reversed in 20 Johns. 693, but not on the point of endorsement by Surveyor General.

|| Vide 12 Johns. 365. 81. 4 Johns. 182.

§ 56.

HAVING finished the four divisions of the present part, a brief recapitulation of the whole will now be given. Under the form of four questions, which arose incidentally from the discoveries of Columbus, Americus, Cabots, and Varrazano,* we introduced, as a preliminary to the first inquiry,† a description of those antiquities of New-York, which form, in connexion with those of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Mexico, a series of ancient ruins, indicative of a degree of skill superior to that of any known tribes of North America.‡ In inquiring who were the authors of those ancient works, and whether they were the ancestors of the indigines of this State,§ we related, first, their traditions of the first creation and origin of nations, tracing a similitude between theirs and the fabulous genealogical traditions of the Egyptians, Chinese, and Hindoos.¶ Secondly, their traditions of the migration of their ancestors into the territory of this State, and their conquest over its preoccupants.|| These, we learn from the tradition, were the authors of those works, the ruins of which we had traced, an extraordinary and civilized people,|| who, according to other accounts, were whites. Whether they transmigrated from Asia or Europe, who the ancestors of our present race of Indians were, and whence they came also, were inquiries which rendered a recurrence proper to the main question, viz : By what means was America originally peopled?¶¶

In its examination, we briefly reviewed the various hypotheses of the learned. After alluding to the Scandinavian adventurers, who, it will appear under the third division,

* § 1.

† § 2.

‡ § 3.

§ § 3.

|| § 4.

¶ § 7.

may have reached the coasts of New-York, we spoke of the *Welsh Indians*, and presented some facts, (for instance, an institution resembling that of free masonry) tending to strengthen the conjecture, that Wales may have contributed a portion of the aboriginal population,* even without the necessity of insisting upon the authenticity of the account of Prince Madoc's adventures.† To corroborate the probability that Europe as well as Asia supplied emigrants, we stated that the ancient fortifications of this State resembled the British and Danish ; that Europe, as well as Asia, had its northern Tartars, descendants of the Scythians ; that they may have successively poured into this continent from the northwest of Europe and the northeast of Asia, and alternately become lords of the ascendant, making even the territory of this State the theatre of their warlike and barbarous achievements ; and lastly, that although the Malays of Austral Asia may have penetrated into the southern part of this continent, its northern section received the Tartars from the hyperborean regions of Europe and Asia.‡ Among these, were the victorious ancestors of the Iroquois and Lenni Lennape, and the civilized Alligewi, whom they vanquished and expelled. The former were probably Tartars from Asia, the latter of the Gothic stock from Europe.§ We have shown in what manner they may have transmigrated.|| We have corroborated our statement by the opinions of philosophers, that they, as well as other people, though in less proportions, may by accident, as well as through design, have passed to this continent from the various quarters of the old world ; and although the learned vary in opinion as to the period of the original migration, whether before or since the deluge, whether the aborigines first came from Asia, Europe, or Africa, whether among them were Israelites of the ten tribes, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Christians ; yet there is a most respectable concurrence in opinion, that the

* § 8.

† § 8, 9.

‡ § 10 to 13.

§ § 11, 12.

|| § 12, 13.

majority of the Indians of the present race are the offspring of Tartars, principally from Asia.*

Other learned writers, viewing the natural obstacles which now appear, as insuperable to the passage of animals, maintain that former unions existed between this and the other continents ;† that those connexions were destroyed by the effects of volcanoes and earthquakes ; that the now sunken Atlantis of the ancients was not the dream of their fancy, but an immense island, whose inhabitants were the authors of the inscription upon the Dighton rock of Massachusetts.‡

Another class still unsatisfied with prior theories, have directed their philological researches into the structure of Indian idioms, endeavouring to ascertain their identity by comparison with the languages of the old world ;§ while lastly, a few, in order to close all argument, flippantly allege, that the aborigines were strictly natives of the soil.

From a review of the whole question, we have formed our conclusion, without insisting upon its infallibility. On the contrary, we have offered it as merely hypothetical.|| We have also made such reflections as were suggested by a retrospect of those revolutions which have shaken this continent to its foundation ; and from the experience of the past, we have deduced a probability, that the most signal revolutions may take place in the progress of ages ; that the territory of this State, which has been even within two centuries, the theatre for the display of most remarkable changes, may be destined, in common with the other parts of this continent, to undergo those of a far more astonishing character.¶

The second division embraced the inquiry whether America was known to Europe before Columbus.** An answer to this, the reader will perceive, had been principally anticipated under the first division. We however superadded a few remarks respecting the maritime knowledge and skill of the ancients,

* 12 to 16, and p. 296, n.

§ § 18.

§ § 19.

† ib. § 17.

¶ § 19, 20.

‡ § 17.

** § 21 to 25.

and also observed, that although they may have had vague ideas of a western continent, and though it was probable that this continent was visited by Europeans many ages before Columbus, yet the knowledge which prevailed among his contemporaries, was not such as to deprive him of the honour of originality in projecting a discovery which required his extraordinary qualifications to accomplish.*

The effect of his discovery upon the commercial and ultra marine relations of European powers, constituted the subject of our third division;† under which, however, we have directed the attention of readers to those European voyages of discovery, and those conflicting claims to the North American continent, which had a relation to that portion of it embraced within the colonial limits of New-York. But under the question, who first discovered the coasts and harbours of this State, we gave a preliminary account of the Scandinavian or *Norrman* voyages‡ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and having submitted to our readers the probability that New-York was a part of ancient Vinland,§ we then proceeded to describe the more modern European voyages to our coasts and harbours. First, the voyage, five years after Columbus, of the Cabots,|| whose alleged discovery of our coasts, formed a prominent ground for the claim of England to this colony; though the Monarch (Henry VII.) who commissioned the Cabots, and those who succeeded him upon the English throne for nearly a century afterwards, did not assert their claims by actual colonization upon any part of North America.

From the selfish views of Henry VII. we passed with pleasure to the more enterprising policy, but with abhorrence to the characteristic cruelty of the Spaniards,** whose claim to North America, by virtue of the pope's gift, was insisted upon with pertinacity, though they pretended also to have first discovered Florida, and it has been conjectured that they early

* ib.

† ‡ 26.

‡ ‡ 27.

§ § ib.

|| ‡ 28.

** § 29.

visited the Hudson and the St. Lawrence.* These pretensions, particularly that founded on the pope's gift, were disregarded by Henry VIII. of England, and Francis I. of France;† both of whom sent ships of discovery to North America. We confined our attention especially to two voyages under the auspices of the latter monarch, one of which it has been conjectured, reached the bay of New-York, and the other it is asserted, discovered the St. Lawrence: viz. those of Varrazano,‡ and Cartier.§ The interviews of these adventurers with the natives, and particularly of Cartier with our Iroquois, prove, as well as the intercourse of all the first European visitors, the unsophisticated character, and friendly and humane conduct of the natives. It has appeared, that from the fate of Varrazano, the project of colonization slept in France, until Cartier made his voyages,|| and that the unsuccessful issue of these, combined with the distracted condition of France, suspended North American colonizing adventure, (except that of the persecuted and unfortunate admiral Coligna, in the reign of Charles IX.) until it was revived under the enlightened policy of Henry the Great.¶

From the foregoing events, and others which we have briefly enumerated, we have deduced the causes why a century elapsed after the Cabots, before any effectual revival of the spirit of colonization. We said that a secret cause, (arising from religious persecution,) was in progressive operation, which was to secure ultimately the establishment of colonies, but that a powerful and prior impulse was to arise at the close of the sixteenth, and commencement of the seventeenth century, from the enterprising policy of those illustrious contemporaries Queen Elizabeth, Henry IV., and Prince Maurice.** The first effectual attempt on the part of the English was in the reign of Elizabeth, whose patents to Sir Humphry

* § 29.

† § 30.

‡ § 31, 32.

§ § 33.

|| § 32.

¶ § 33.

** § 34.

Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, were followed by several expeditions to the northern and southern parts of Virginia.* The disastrous issue of those enterprises, as well as the misfortunes of their patrons, suspended the project of colonization,† until Bartholomew Gosnold, one year before the death of Elizabeth, and seven years before the discovery of the Hudson river, undertook to plant a colony, and actually erected the first house within the limits of the province of New-York.‡ We have seen that Gosnold's enterprise was succeeded by that of Pring and Weymouth in the same direction,§ and that their combined accounts of the beauty and fertility of the regions which they had visited, roused the dormant spirit of the English, many of whom zealously promoted colonies. On the accession therefore of King James to the throne of England, new patents were granted to new companies, by virtue of which fresh colonies were sent to south and north Virginia; the former of which enjoyed a precarious existence, the latter actually abandoned the country. Those patents included the territory of this state, and interfered with the claims of France and of Spain, whose pretensions were revived and discussed even in 1609, while Hudson was engaged in exploring the New-York bay and river.||

With regard to France, we have seen that though the true era of French commercial policy has been dated in the reign of Lewis XIV. yet that the prior reign of Henry IV. was distinguished for several voyages to North America. The patent granted by the king to *Des Monts*, embraced this State. Under them, Samuel Champlain sailed to Canada, founded Quebec, and in the course of an expedition against our Iroquois Indians, discovered *Lacus Irocoisa* (since called by the name of its discoverer,) fought those Indians in a battle near Ticonderoga, and thus introduced to them a knowledge of gunpowder during the same year that Hudson entered the southern waters of our State, and gave to the same nation of

* § 35.

† § 35.

‡ § 36.

§ § 37

|| § 38, 40.

Indians the knowledge of another evil, which, combined with the former, subsequently produced the most destructive effect among the natives.*

At the period of the memorable discovery of Henry Hudson, to the development of which we were slowly approaching, we found that the great European powers claimed the territory within this State. We stated the limits of their conflicting claims. We stated that the discovery of Henry Hudson took place in the administration of the celebrated Maurice of Holland, and that the Dutch republic (a sketch of which is given) was our first colonial parent.† We pointed out the remote causes of the glory of that republic, the employment of Henry Hudson by the Dutch East India Company, and the colonization of this State.‡ We have shown that all those events resulted incidentally from repeated attempts to explore a north passage to China,§ then a great object of maritime adventure.¶ In pursuit of the same object, a London company first brought to our notice the daring, skilful, and experienced Hudson, who, in their service, performed two voyages in 1607 and 8,|| then proceeded to Holland; and in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed in 1609 in pursuit of the supposed northern passage. Not more successful in this attempt than he had been in the two former, he formed a design of visiting the American continent. He coasted it as far as the South Virginia Colony, retrograded¶ along the coast, and entered within Sandy Hook. After passing a week, he proceeded to the mouth of the river, which now perpetuates his name.** Previously to our description of his exploring passage upon the river, we gave a slight topographical sketch of the islands and bays which he had now passed, and their ancient names. We also gave an account of the bay and river Indians, with whom he had interviews during his month's visit, together with the ancient names and courses of the river.††

* § 41.

† § 42, 44.

‡ § 45.

§ § 46.

|| § 47.

¶ § 48.

** § 49.

†† § 50.

We then traced Hudson's voyage to the utmost point to which his yacht sailed; described some of the scenery as it probably then appeared to him, and mentioned some incidents which occurred with the natives.* During his visit near the spot upon which is the city of Albany, we observed his amicable reception and traffic with the natives, and described a remarkable scene, confirmed by tradition, which took place here, or at some spot in the vicinity of New-York, when Hudson first arrived.†

After designating the portions of the river to its sources and branches, which were unexplored by Hudson, and remarking upon the undiscovered regions of the northern and western parts of this State;‡ we then follow, in our description, Hudson's return; his interviews and sea-fight with the natives; his departure from the bay of New-York; his arrival in England, and his detention from Holland through the policy of King James.§

Finally, as Hudson's discovery led to the colonisation of New-York, his character and misfortunes become to its citizens an object of inquisitive solicitude. We have therefore succinctly narrated his fourth and last disastrous voyage.||

Having related the discoveries of our coasts and harbours, which were made under the auspices of England, France, Spain, and Holland, and stated their conflicting claims in consequence of those discoveries, we proceeded to the fourth division of the present part, and unfolded those principles of international law adopted by those powers, to test the validity of their respective claims; which principles constitute the foundation of title to dominion over the soil of this State.

In these ante-colonial annals we have pursued a comprehensive range of investigation, compatible perhaps with an introduction only. Some topics, however, apparently foreign, will hereafter appear to have been relevant, if not indispen-

* § 51.

† § ib.

‡ § ib.

§ § 52.

|| § 53.

sable, to a complete History of the State. It may also, perhaps, be deemed, by some readers, that in our details we departed from the dignity of history, which, according to the prescribed rule of criticism, should not stoop to notice any thing "except what posterity, from some cause or other, would feel an interest to know." If we should follow this rule in its utmost latitude, and judge of the taste and feelings of posterity by the standard that regulates those of our own times, we might record incidents of modern occurrence apparently trivial in their character, but which posterity would dwell upon with the same pleasure that the present generation do upon occurrences that wear the impress of antiquity, although at the time they happened, they also passed unheeded. If historians, therefore, should regard particularly the taste and feelings of posterity, they might sometimes offend those of the present generation. It may be perceived, therefore, that it would be difficult to limit the dignity of history by any invariable rule. History was once justly considered as one of the Muses, and her duty was to impart pleasure as well as instruction. Viewed in this light, we have endeavoured in the present work to engraft upon the monotony of chronological detail, some of the charms of novelty. And we do not doubt, if we could have added more antiquities, more traditions, and more incidents of the early times, we should still have presented an acceptable fund of pleasure to the curious; themes for contemplation to the philosophic; and at the same time preserved in a visible and tangible manner the fleeting memorials of the olden time, from which the future poet and novelist will select materials to interweave with the creations of their fancies.

Divisions of the History. General View of New-York.

IN the progress of our history, we shall adopt four divisions, embracing,

First: An historical sketch of the native proprietors of the soil, comprehended within our colonial limits, in their foreign and domestic relations as a distinct and independent people; reserving, however, the details of such transactions as were connected with our colonial or state annals.

Secondly: The history of the colony of New-Netherlands, until its surrender by the Dutch to the English in 1664.

Thirdly: That of the province of New-York, including the period of its recapture and temporary repossession by the Dutch.

Fourthly: New-York, since it ceased to be a provincial part of the British dominions, and assumed its rank as an independent State.

This State has arisen to its present flourishing condition within two hundred and ten years. Its rapid transformation from a wilderness to the most populous member of a great and happy republic, is a phenomenon in the history of the progress of society.

Embracing an area of about twenty-eight millions of acres,* the State contains a population, principally descended from Holland, Great Britain, France and Germany, of one million and a half. According to the ratio of its increase hitherto, this number will amount to two millions in six years, and in thrice that period, will be equal, and in resources superior, to the English North American Colonies on the day of the declaration of their independence. If such shall appear to be the result, curiosity will be awakened to learn the causes why, during a century after its first settlement, the colony contain-

* For exact number, see Spafford's Gazetteer of N. Y. 2d ed. 1824.

ed only about 50,000 inhabitants,* and why, within thirty years since it became a free State, it has received an accession of one million, and will probably become, within two centuries and a half from its discovery by Henry Hudson, more populous, opulent, and powerful, than those thirteen colonies collectively, which, half a century ago, coped with the power of Great Britain, and constituted the original states of the national confederacy.

But its prospects are not limited to that criterion. In agriculture, its territorial capacity may be calculated to sustain five or six millions of people ; but connecting the productive industry of an improved system of husbandry, with the energies of commerce and manufactures, we know not what boundaries can be fixed to the augmentation of the numbers, power, and resources of the State. Situated in a temperate and healthy climate, free from the physical and political convulsions that have sometimes shaken and desolated the old world, and agitated portions of the new, it possesses attractions and advantages adapted to invite and cherish a dense population. Its topography displays variegated ranges of highlands, rich in minerals ; a diversified physiognomy of fertile dale and champaign ; ornamented by hundreds of lakes and streams, all naturally adapted to become the mediums of vast systems of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

How remarkably have these advantages been illustrated by the founders of the State and their descendants, since their emancipation from a feeble colonial government, and their adoption of a system, the theory of which was based upon principles of political and religious liberty, and its practice upon the purity and wisdom of the judicial legislature and executive departments. Aware of the

* 50,289 (of whom 7231 were blacks) in 1731. (Records of office of Secretary of State.)

value and nature of such a system, they foresaw that its prosperity and permanency would depend upon enlightened opinion and moral instruction; consequently, we find already nearly 8000 common schools, where about 400,000 children are annually educated; thirty-six incorporated academies, and five colleges,* where 4000 youth receive classical and scientific education. These fountains of learning have been liberally endowed, and their numbers are rapidly increasing. By the interest of a school and literature fund of two millions; by an equal sum raised in school districts; by legislative and private munificence, more than one-fourth of the aggregate population are designed to become publicly instructed. Religion, also, being left free, its benign influence is widely perceptible. Three thousand churches and places of public worship, attest the devotion of a people, the aspirations of whose hearts are poured forth in every varied form which conscience may dictate to be acceptable to the great Benefactor of the human family.

While the people are acknowledged as the sole fountain of political power, they hold the soil they cultivate free from entails. Untaxed to support by their toil the enormous pagantry of overgrown aristocracies, they reap where they sow, and gather where they reap. With a trifling deduction to support an indispensable civil list upon principles of economy, here genius and industry hoard their gains, and regulate their pursuits, without interference on the part of government. Accordingly, we find the aspect of society cheerful, intelligent, and diversified. The arts, sciences, learned professions, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, go hand in hand, and form one harmonious system of employments, balancing each other in the scale of political prosperity and social happiness. Agriculture engages the attention of three-fourths of the population, and yet six millions of acres only throughout,

* Including those of the Physicians and Surgeons.

are under improvement. Manufactures and the arts are in their infancy, yet 10,000 mills, factories, and hydraulic labour-saving machines, are employed on the streams which flow through every section of the State, and which afford facilities for an incalculable increase of productive industry. But commerce, availing itself of this great natural inland navigation, improved, as it soon will be, by the addition of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles of canal, and advantageously located in proximity to European markets, and central position in reference to the Atlantic states of the republic, has displayed an activity and an energy, that seem to admit of no proscribed boundaries for their future range and development. Three hundred thousand tons of shipping are said to be employed. A commercial metropolis is displayed, which, when first laid out as a city, one hundred and sixty-eight years ago, could not number more than about one hundred and twenty houses, and one thousand inhabitants, but during the present year, (1824) it exhibits about twenty-five thousand buildings, and contains nearly one-tenth of the entire population of the State, or about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants ; a city, which yields in tonnage and customs to the republic, nearly one half of its revenue ; supplies, with its various fabrics and wares, about seven hundred interior towns, twice that number of villages, four cities, and fifty-five counties, within the State ; is the great mart of exchange and emporium of commerce for the country, emphatically the London of the continent ; and from its recent indications of amazing prosperity, may, if not thrown back by any calamity, become in a century, the rival of the most populous and opulent commercial city on the globe.*

Where are the bounds to the prosperity of such a people ? Possessing a property, which, according to a very limited taxable valuation, amounts to three hundred millions of dollars, and resources continually developing and improving ; possessing a territory nearly equal in area to that of England, and

* Between 2000 and 3000 buildings are said to have been erected this year, (1824.)

susceptible of as high a state of cultivation as that which distinguishes the modern system of agriculture in that kingdom; possessing civil, religious, and political privileges which are not exceeded by those of any other people; remote from the troubles, and aloof from the entangling policy of the transatlantic world; fortified at every point; supplied with the munitions of defensive war; prepared with one hundred and fifty thousand well organized militia, to co-operate with the militia of other states, and with the national forces, if it should become necessary to repel any invasion of their independence; where are the bounds to the prosperity of such a people? Where is the example of a commonwealth, which in two centuries has realised a more rapid progress in all that endears and exalts the social compact? In contemplating the origin, rise, and growth of ancient empires; in following nations in their progress from rudeness to refinement; or in developing the resources and condition of any people, who, in so short a period, struggled through the gradations of poverty, weakness, and political vassalage, to the attainment of opulence, power, and freedom; we may ask the question, whether the annals of the world afford a more illustrious instance than those of New-York, of a rapid and triumphant transition from the humiliation and debasement of the former, to the glory and prosperity of the latter? Its first settlement was retarded by the incidental disadvantages of a location remote from the civilized world, surrounded by the terrors of a jealous, fierce, and revengeful people; its advancement will be found to have been marked by war, domestic factions, and revolution. It will appear to have been sometimes exposed to famine, systematic invasion, predatory border incursion, massacre, and threatened extermination; surrounded by these complicated impediments, the colony, notwithstanding, advanced towards maturity with the irrepressible strength of a young and healthy giant, displaying its physical and moral energies with a rapidity and an effect the most signal and astonishing. Forty-seven years ago New-York was almost exclusively in the possession of a victorious invader. The convention of armed patriots, who then adopted the Constitution of the State, were forced

to fly from place to place, and when that sacred compact was finally settled, it was passed by a minority of about one-third of the members of the Convention, (the majority being absent on public duty,) and proclaimed almost in sound of the enemy's cannon. When the colony, exhausted by a desolating war, rose to the acknowledged rank of an Independent State, its entire population was about two hundred thousand only. The State, we have seen, comprises more than seven times that number.

Since it emerged into political life, and indeed within the last ten years, a system of internal improvement has been prosecuted, bold and comprehensive in its conception, unexpectedly rapid in its progress, and momentous in its beneficial bearing upon the prosperity of the present and succeeding generations.

A retrospect of the causes and progress of all this prosperity will form the subject of our History. The character of man will appear in its variegated lights and shades, as displayed in a savage and civilized, in a rude and refined condition.

To mark the migration, first settlements, gradual increase in population and resources of a people whose ancestors might, perhaps, be traced to every nation of Europe; to delineate their manners, customs, habits, and employment; to develop their genius, and embody the spirit of the times; to trace the progress of arts, manufactures, commerce, agriculture, literature, science, and the legal code, during their separate stages of advancement and improvement; to hold up for emulation all that has been illustrious in character and policy, and for censure, all that shall have appeared deserving public reprobation; to follow the vicissitudes and revolutions of the State, signalling those which have had a permanent influence upon its prosperity, and examining particularly the causes of that memorable revolution, which was the foundation of its past and future greatness; and to deduce from the whole, an impressive moral and political lesson, salutary to the future destination of the people, are the various, complicated, and interesting topics of the future pages of this History.



NOTES AND AUTHORITIES. PART I.

REFERENCES leading to a minute investigation of any topic, are in the body of the work: but in general, those (except manuscript communications, &c.) which merely support the text, and notes not intimately connected with it, are placed at the end. In quoting from authors, condensation and brevity have been aimed at; and their language has therefore been rejected or modified, but preserved when it was best adapted to convey their meaning. In the future progress of this work, recourse will be had to a valuable collection of manuscripts. Besides those in the office of the Secretary of State, and the invaluable mass of original materials preserved through the liberal exertions of the New-York Historical Society, others, some of which were written by certain distinguished individuals deceased, directly upon our Colonial History, will be introduced. The materials for the present part of the History, embracing a period anterior to the existence of our written records, have been principally compiled from a great variety of publications in different languages. In so arduous an undertaking, precaution and vigilance, however scrutinising, could hardly guarantee to research an exemption from errors; and criticism might no doubt detect many: but whatever they are, the author of the present part feels himself bound in justice to say, that they are not imputable to his associate, whose talents, in the intervals of his official duties, have been directed to a period of the history which, under the influence of his genius, will appear far more interesting than these ante-colonial annals.

- (1.) As to the compass see Gouget's Hist. of Inventions. Robertson's Amer. B. I. Rees's Cyclo.
- (2.) Roscoe's Sismondi, Vol. I. ch. 2.
- (3.) Ib.
- (4.) See Rob. Amer. B. I.
- (5.) Clavigero's Hist. of Amer.
- (6.) Hume's Eng. Vol. III. p. 423.
- (7.) See a communication made to the N. Y. Hist. Soc. of a relic of ancient days, dug up in Troy, and discovered far below the surface. In the neighbourhood of Neversink hills, New-Jersey, Maryland, &c. and near the Hudson River, evidences of human beings having existed there in ancient days, have been brought to light by excavations from 10 to 40 feet deep.

Dr. Ackerly's Geology of Hudson River, p. 18 to 22, 59, 60, 65, &c. Dr. Mitchell's Geol. of N. Amer.

(8.) Dr. Mitchell, in his Geol. of N. Amer., published in Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, Vol. I. Archæ. Amer.

(9.) Memoirs on the Antiquities of the western parts of N. Y.

(10.) See Atwater's Ant. in Vol. I. Archæ. Amer.

(11.) See Discourse on the benefits of Civil Hist. by H. Williamson. M.D. LL.D., Vol. II. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 23, 28. Rees' Cyclo. art. Antiquity.

(12.) Ib.

(13.) Ib.

(14.) Hunter's Manners and Customs of the eastern tribes, p. 314. But the Creeks and others in their vicinity believed all nations descended from two brothers, one of whom (their ancestor) was red, the other white. Extract of journal of Rev. Mr. Bolzius, one of the ministers of the transport of Saltzburghers, who emigrated to Georgia in 1733-4, under commissary Van Reck, p. 34, 38. The Caddos (or Caddoques, residing 35 miles west of the main branch of the Red River,) and half a dozen other smaller nations, who claim the honor of a like descent, believe that when all the world was drowned by a flood, that inundated the whole country, the great spirit placed on an eminence near their lake one family of Caddoques, who alone were saved; from that family all the Indians originated. President's Message communicating to Congress Lewis & Clark's Discoveries 1806, p. 48.

(15.) Anon. in Nat. Intell. and Comm. from John E. Wool, Inspector Gen. of U. S. Army, N. D.

(16.) Heckewelder in Vol. I. Phil. Hist. & Lit. Trans. p. 242-3.

(17.) The Osages universally believed that the founder of their nation was a snail, that the heat of the sun ripened him into a man, who married a young beaver, the daughter of an old one, who had disputed proprietary right to the Osage possessions; that from this union sprung the Wasbasha or Osages, who (until the profits of the fur trade overcame their scruples) had a pious reverence for their ancestors, and exempted the beaver from the chase, because in killing that animal, they killed a brother of the Osage. Lewis & Clarke's Travels, p. 8, 9.

(18.) J. T. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, in Vol. IV. Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 100.

(19.) McCulloh in Researches on America, Balt. 1817. Port Folio for June, 1816.

(20.) Mr. John D. Hunter in "Manners and Customs of several Indian tribes located west of the Mississippi," p. 315. Phila. 1823.

(21.) See Dr. Mitchell, Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. 347.

(22.) Mr. Atwater in ib. 203.

(23.) By Mr. Clifford of Kentucky, ib. 347-9.

(24.) Mr. Stoddard says (in Hist. view of Louisa,) the Ietans or Alitans in that quarter, bear a resemblance. Aboat sixty visited Nachinotches in

1807. Their women were comparatively handsome, and the hair of many of the men was of a sandy complexion. Their customs and manners indicate a different origin than their neighbours.

During the present year (1824) an account appeared in the Franklin (Missouri) Intelligencer, republished in the New-York Observer, (June 26) that a nation of Indians called the Nabijos, residing between the Spanish settlements of New-Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, were far advanced in the arts of civilized life. They reside in stone houses, cultivate agriculture, manufacture cotton, woollen, leather, and other articles, in an ingenious manner. The account does not mention from whom the Nabijos descended, or from whom they derived their knowledge and skill. Possibly they may be a remnant of the ancient Mexican people, who may have fled to the place of their present abode when the Spaniards invaded their country.

(25.) Stoddard's Louisiana. Vancouver's travels.

(26.) The wolf tribe of certain Indians, now called Pawnee, are said to follow the custom of immolating human victims. A boy, ten years old whom they intended to offer as a sacrifice to the *Great Star*, was humanely purchased by Mr. Manuel Liea, on his return from the trading posts on the Upper Missouri. They did put to death, by transfixing on a sharp pole, as an offering to the object of their adoration, the child of a Paddo woman, who, being a captive, devoted to that sanguinary and horrible death, escaped on horseback, leaving her new-born offspring behind. Dr. Mitchill in Vol. I. Archæ. Amer. p. 348. But see Morse's Report, p. 248.

(27.) See Southy's Madoc, a poem. 2 vols.

(29.) Robertson, Lord Lyttleton, & Belknap.

(28 & 30.) 1. Hist. of Wales by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Glamorgan-shire, in the British language, translated into English by Humphry Llwyd and published by Dr. David Powel, 1584.

2. Hakluyt's Coll. of Voyages in 1589, *deriving his account of Madog from Gutton Owen*. As to his authenticity, see Forster's Northern Voyages, p. 189, note. Belknap, Amer. Biog. Vol. I. p. 408 & 65.

3. A brief descrip. of the whole world, fifth edit. Lond. printed for John Marriott, 1620.

4. Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels into Africa and Asia, &c. London, 1638.

5. Hornibus De Originiis Americanis.

6. Enquiry into the truth of the traditions &c. by John Williams, LL.D. Lond. 1791. Further observations by do. Lond. 1792.

(31.) See Pinkerton's Coll. of Voyages, Vol. XII. p. 157.

(32.) Dr. Campbell in his Naval History of Great Britain, Vol. I. p. 257, 2d ed. as cited by Dr. Williams, who also refers to Hist. & Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Paris for 1784. Month. Review, Vol. LXXVIII. p. 616. Warrington's Hist. of Wales. Broughton, Purchas, and Dayys revived the story.

- (33.) For the narrative of Madoc's Expedition, see authorities cited in the above from note 27 inclusive.
- (34.) Hakluyt Collec.
- (35.) Hornius De Originibus, &c.
- (36.) Herbert.
- (37.) See Williams.
- (38.) Ib.
- (39.) Ib. Enquiry, p. 32, 39.
- (40.) Ib.
- (41.) See Memoirs, &c. by Mr. Clinton Atwater in Vol. I. Archæ. Amer.
- (42.) See Atwater ib. and H. Williamson's Hist. N. Caro. Vol. I. p. 6. 7, 8, 213, 216.
- (43.) In Enquiry touching the Diversity of Language and Religion, &c. Lond. 1674.
- (44.) Johannis De Laet Antwerpiani Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine gentium Americanarum et observationis, etc.
- (45.) On the Origin of the Americans, published Palentia, 1607, republished Madrid, 1720.
- (46.) Naturall and Morall Historic of the East and West Indies, &c. English transl. Lond. 1604.
- (47.) De Origine gentium Americanarum.
- (48.) See Originibus Americanis, Lib. I. chap. 2.
- (49.) We learn from Charlevoix that the Eries (or Cat Indians) an indigenous nation of the Malay race, formerly inhabited the lands south of Lake Erie. The Iroquois of the Tartar stock (says Dr. Mitchill) exterminated them, and appropriated their country to a hunting ground.
- (50.) Dr. Mitchill.
- (51.) Dissertation sur l'origine des Ameriquains. Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans L' Amerique septentrionale, &c. A Paris 1744. Par le Pere Charlevoix.
- (52.) See his Histoire et description Generale de la Nouvelle France, &c. Tomes 1—4. A Paris, 1744. Tom. III. He was also known as the author of the History of Japan and St. Domingo.
- (53.) It is added in the above report, that it has been related of them by an elderly gentleman of Natchitoches, who some years ago traded with them, that about thirty years previous, (to 1806,) a part of them crossed the river Grand to Chewawa, the residence of the (Spanish) Governor General of what is called the five internal provinces, there lay in ambush for an opportunity, and made prisoner of the Governor's daughter, a young lady, going in her coach to mass, and carried her off. The Governor caused a messenger to go among them, with a proffered ransom of 1000 dollars. But the young lady refused to return with him to her father, and sent the following message : that the Indians had disfigured her face by tatooing it accor-

ding to their fancy and ideas of beauty, and a young man of them had taken her for his wife, by whom she believed herself pregnant; that she had become reconciled to her mode of life, was well treated by her husband, and should under all these circumstances be more unhappy by returning than by remaining where she was. She is still living in the Indian nation with her husband, by whom she has three children.

¶ (*) Omitted in the text. P. 67. Charlevoix's Journal, &c. Edwards's West Indies, B. 1, c. 2. & appex. Forster's Northern Voyages. Intro. Forster's Observations made during a voyage round the World. Belknap's Amer. Biog. in *Preliminary Dissert.*

(54.) Intro. to Descrip. of Monuments in Amer.

(55.) Hist. of Mexico. Abbe C. was a native of Vera Cruz, thirty years resident of New-Spain, and master of the Mexican language.

(56.) Ib.

(57.) Ib.

(58.) They are the authors of "Le Philosophe Deuceur," a miserable little performance, as is observed in a note in Clavigero's Hist of Amer. in Dissertation. Bernard Romain's concise Hist. of East & West Florida, &c. N. Y. 1776. 12mo. Voltaire's Œuvres, tom. XVI.

(59.) Analectic Magazine.

(60.) Mithridates, order Allgemeine Sprachenkunde, &c. or the General Science of Languages, with the Lord's prayer in nearly 500. 4 vols. bound in 6 vols. octavo, Berlin, 1806—1817.

(61.) M. Portalis, Commissary of France, representing that government, (on the accession of Napoleon to the Consulate) in the Council of Prizes at Paris. Code des Prises, Tome II. cited in Wheaton on Captures.

(62.) Abbe Raynal and Voltaire, in some of their works predict, that as Rome was swallowed up in Europe, so Europe will be in America.

(63.) Pliny in Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. Anacharsis, Vol. II.

(64.) Æn. Lib. VI. 795. "Jacet extra," etc.

(65.) See Herbert's Travels.

(66.) See Jer. Belknap's tract. Belk. Amer. Biog. Vol. I. Prel. Diss. Robertson's Amer. Vol. I. Irving's Knickerbocker, Vol. I.

(67.) Ib.

(68.) Ib. and Jenk's Antiquarian Address.

(69.) See Robertson's Amer. B. II.

(70.) Voltaire's Letters on the English nation. Williams's new Observations.

(71.) Ib.

(72.) Rob. Amer. B. II.

(73.) Herbert.

(74.) Dr. Mitchill.

(75.) Professor Ebeling Hist. Amer. (in German.)

(76.) Am. Biog. Vol. I. p. 56.

(77.) Ib.

(78.) And the birth of the British navy, "The Great Henry" having

been the first war ship built at the public expense. See Hume, Vol III. p. 428.

(79.) Third vol. Hume's Eng. p. 427. Some assert that Henry accepted the offer, and that Columbus' brother was detained on his return with an invitation for Columbus. *ib.* Hence England was fairly entitled, in preference to Spain, to the advantages of the discovery. (Pinkerton's Collections, Vol. XII. p. 158.) But Bacon says Columbus sailed before his brother laid the propositions before Henry, having, on his way to England, been detained by pirates. Hist. of the reign of Henry VII. p. 189, Lon. 1629, by Right. Hon. Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans.

(80.) Hakluyt.

(81.) Salmon in Modern Hist.

(82.) Salmon Mod. Hist. Vol. XXX. p. 392, and see Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 173.

(83.) Hakluyt Coll. of Voyages, &c. printed 1600, Vol. III. p. 60. See the biographical sketch of Hakluyt and the character of his Collections in Belknap's Amer. Biog. Vol. I. p. 408. "Hakluyt was a man of indefatigable diligence and great integrity, much in favour of Queen Elizabeth's ministry, and largely conversant with seamen. He published the 1st vol. in 1589, and afterwards added two others, and reprinted the first in 1599 & 1600. He was born in Herefordshire, 1553, and died 1616, and his manuscripts fell into the hands of Mr. Purchas. He had been Prebendary of Westminster, and lectured on Geog. in Oxford College.

(84.) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 5,

(85.) *Ib.*

(86.) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 10.

(87.) Smith, from Entic. See Smith's New-Jersey, p. 7.

(88.) Prince, cited in Benjamin Trumbull's Plea of Connecticut, title p. 68.

(89.) Hakluyt.

(90.) See Professor Ebeling's Hist. Amer.

(91.) The Pope's Bull is preserved by Purchas and Harris.

(92.) Account of European settlements in America, Vol. II. London, 1760.

(93.) *Ib.*

(94.) J. Long's Voy. and Trav. p. 2. See VI. N. Amer. Review, (n. s.) p. 49, 50.

(95.) In 1502 or 1512.

(96.) Acct. of European Sett. in Amer.

(97.) Sullivan's Hist. of the Dist. of Maine, p. 47, 48.

(98.) Abbe Raynal's Hist. of East and West Indies.

(99.) Charlevoix, Forster, Belknap.

(100.) Hakluyt, X. N. Amer. Review, (n. s.) p. 139. Vol. I. Belknap's Amer. Biog. 160-3.

- (101.) See Campbell's Pleasures of Hope. Robert Emmet's last speech.
- (102.) Herrera. Purchas. See Hugh Williamson's North Caro. p. 12, 14. Trumbull's Plea of Connecticut, title, p. 68. North Amer. Rev. p. 220.
- (103.) Acct. of Europ. sett. in Amer. Vol. II.
- (104.) See ib.
- (105.) Coligna, according to Mezeray, but *Chastillon* in Acct. of Europ. Sett. in Amer. See Williamson's N. Caro.
- (106.) Or *Gorgeus* in Acct. of Europ. Sett.
- (107.) Task, B. II. line 206.
- (108.) Walter Scott.
- (109.) Battie's Minstrel.
- (110.) See the Lady of the Lake, Lay of the Last Minstrel:
 "Breathes then the man with soul so dead,
 "Who never to himself hath said,
 "T'his is my own my native land?" &c.
- (111.) Emerald Isle, by Ch. Phillips, Esq. See p. 52, 59, 63.
 "Erin, dear by every tie," &c.
- (112.) Hakluyt. Stith's Hist. Virginia.
- (113.) Acct. of Europ. Sett. in Amer. Abbe Raynal's Brit. Sett. in Amer.
- (114.) See ib. and the Virginia Historians.
- (115.) See Examination of Connecticut Claim, Phila. 1774.
- (116.) Prince in Chronology, p. 4.
- (117.) Hutchinson. Bloame.
- (118.) See Abbe Raynal's Brit. Sett. in Amer. A. Holmes' Address before Antiquarian Society, 1814. Trumbull's Plea, &c. p. 69. Belk. Amer. Biog. Smith's Virginia.
- (118.) The right of the Governor & Co. of Connecticut to lands within their charter west of N. Y. anon, Hartford, 1773. Plea in vindication of Connecticut, title by Benj. Trumble, New Haven, 1774, p. 4. Douglass' Summary, Vol. I. p. 115. See Neil, Vol. I. Hutchinson, Vol. I.
- (120.) Acct. of Europ. Sett. in Amer. Vol. II. Card. Richelieu was made prime minister 1629, Rees' Cyclo. Gen. Biog. Hist. of France.
- (121.) Ib.
- (122.) Collec. of Dutch E. India Co. translated from the Dutch, London, 1703.
- (123.) Recueil des Voyages, &c. Tom. I. p. 55. trans. Pink. Collec. Vol. I. p. 81.
- (124.) Ib. and Anquetil's Univ. Hist. Vol. VIII. Acct. of Europ. Sett. in Amer.
- (125.) Acct. of Europ. Sett. in Amer. Pinkerton in Collect. Vol. I. p. 538, says the idea of a northern passage was suggested in England (Bristol) as early as 1527. We have seen that it arose in the days of the Cabot thirty years previously.

(126.) Purchas, Vol. IV. p. 567. I. Belk. Am. Biog. 394.

(127.) Purchas in "Purchas his Pilgrimage," &c. (B. 3, c. 3, § 6,) says that on this voyage "they met, as both Hudson and Iuet have testified, a mermaid in the sea, seen by Thomas Hils and Robert Rainer." In "Purchas his Pilgrims," (Part IV. 575, and see I. N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 36,) containing the journal of the voyage written by Hudson, is this memorandum—"June 15, lat. 75° 7', this morning one of our company looking overboard, saw a mermaid, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and by that time she was come close to the ship side, looking earnestly on the men. A little after a sea came and overturned her. From the naval upward her back and breasts were like a woman; (as they say that saw her;) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long hair hanging down behind, of colour black. In her going down they saw her tail, which was like the tail of a porpoise, and speckled like a mackerel. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner."

Whether the superstition of seamen in those days might not transform in fancy a sea otter into a mermaid, may be a question.

But it is singular that two years after in the island of St. Johns a similar creature was said to have been seen. The account of her was circumstantially minute, and is given in a very old and scarce book in the N. Y. Hist. Library. It is in the conclusion of "A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," by Captain Richard Whitbowne, London, 1622. See also Voyages to New England, London, 1674, and Holley & Bigelow's Amer. Month. Magazine, Vol. II. p. 48.

(128.) That Hudson was in the Dutch East India service, and discovered in 1609, see Prince in Chronology, P. I. p. 23, who cites Harris. Professor Ebeling in Hist. of Amer. (viz. N. Y.) in ch. I. speaks of writers who were almost contemporaneous, who declare this. Chalmers in Polit. Annals (p. 595,) says historians have disregarded the only satisfactory evidence—but though the discovery was under the Dutch, he doubts whether the states were admitted into the community of nations, or so far recognised as independent, as to derive title by the discovery. See Post. See Belk. Amer. Biog. Vol. I. p. 396-7. Bosman's Maryland, so Biog. Brit. art. Hudson. Charlevoix, Forster, and others affirm he was in employ of Dutch. I. Holmes' Amer. Annals, 137 n. Vol. V, Aikin's, Morgan's and Johnson's Gen. Biog.

(129.) Oldmixon, (author of British Empire in America,) one whom Smith cites, was the the weakest, most idle, and erroneous of historians. See his gross and palpable blunders pointed out in Stith's Virginia, p. 33, 112. Col. Beverly's Hist of Virg. (Lond. 1722,) in preface. Belk. Am. Biog. art. Hudson.

(130.) De Laet. Nieuw Wereldt. In the translation of portions of De Laet's work we have been assisted by the Rev. John B. Romeyn of N. Y. and those of Vander Donk's by Mr. Peter D. Vroom, of Raritan.

(131.) Thomson's Seasons.

Yagesho. Indian tradition. The following are the Indian accounts of a remarkable, strange, and ferocious animal (or beast) which the natives say existed in the northern parts of New-York about two centuries ago; and the manner in which it was conquered and killed.* The *Jagisho* (the Indian name of the animal as it is pronounced in German) or *Yagéshe*, (as it would sound after the English pronunciation,) was an animal much superior to the largest bear, remarkably long-bodied, broad down by its shoulders, but thin or narrow just at its hind legs, (or where the body terminated.) It had a large head and fearful look. Its legs were short and thick. Its paws (to the toes of which were nails or claws, nearly as long as an Indian's finger) spread very wide. It was almost bare of hair, except the head and on the hinder parts of its legs, in which places the hair was very long. For this reason the Indians gave it the name of "*Naked Bear*." Several of these animals had been destroyed by the Indians, but the one of which the following account is given, had escaped them, and for years had from time to time destroyed many Indians, particularly women and children when they were out in the woods gathering nuts, digging roots, or at work in the fields. Hunters, when overtaken by this animal, had no way of escaping, except where a river or lake was at hand, by plunging into the same, and swimming out or down the stream to a great distance. When this was the case, and the beast was not able to pursue further, then he would set up such a roaring noise, that every Indian hearing it would tremble. This animal preyed on every beast it could lay hold of. It would catch and kill the largest bears, and devour them. While bears were plenty, the Indians had not so much to dread from him, but that when this was not the case, it would run about the woods, searching for the track or scent of hunters, and follow them up. The women were so afraid of going out to work, that the men assembled to deliberate on the manner (or plan) of killing him. At or near a lake* whence the water flowed *two ways* (or has two different outlets,) one on the northerly and the other on the southerly end,† this beast had its residence, of which the Indians were well informed. A resolute party, well provided with bows, arrows, and spears, made toward the lake. On a high perpendicular rock they stationed themselves, climbing up this rock by means of Indian ladders, and then drawing these after them. After being well fixed, and having taken up a number of stones, they began to imitate the voices and cries of the various beasts of the woods, and even that of children, in order to decoy him thither. Having spent some days without success, a detached party took a stroll to some distance from the rock. Before they had reached the rock again this beast had got the scent of them, and was in full pursuit of them, yet they reached the rock before he arrived. When he came to the rock he was in great anger, sprung

* S of Mr. Heckewelder, dated 1801.

† This lake they called "*Hoossink*," (Hoss is a *kettle*; Hoossink, at the *kettle*.)

against the same with his mouth wide open, grimacing and seizing the same as if he would tear it to pieces. He had several times sprung nearly up. During all this time numbers of arrows and stones were discharged at him, and until he dropped down and expired. His head being cut off, it was carried in triumph to their village (or settlement) on the North River, and there set up on a pole for view; and the report spreading among the neighbouring tribes, numbers came to view the same, and to exalt the victorious for this warlike deed. The Mahicanni claim the honour of this act.

(132.) The authorities upon which this story rests, and upon which we rely, are Purchas, Forster, Pinkerton, (in Collec.) Belknap, (in Biog.) Hudson himself, (so far as his abstract goes,) Abacuck Pricket's narrative, (one of the survivors,) and Thomas Wydouse, (one of those that shared Hudson's fate, but whose brief account was found in his desk,) and some other authorities. The last three are reprinted in Vol. I. of N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 146 to 183. Purchas derived part of his account from the MSS. of Hakluyt from the information of Diggs, one of the company who engaged Hudson, Forster, in part from Pricket, partly from Fox, a contemporary of the latter, &c. All the accounts are compared and arranged in a manner which aims to preserve the verity, connexion, and interest of the story.

(133.) Purchas his Pilgrimage, &c. B. VIII. c. 3, ¶6. Aikin's, Morgan's, and Johnson's Gen. Biog. Vol. V.

(134.) Hudson's Journal.

(135.) Purchas' ib.

(136.) Wydouse's note dated at Iceland, May 30, 1610. He was the mathematician who accompanied Hudson and shared his fate.

(137.) See ib.

(138.) Pricket. Purchas. Wydouse

(139.) Wydouse.

(140.) Pricket. Hudson's Journal.

(141.) Says Pricket, an eye-witness.

(142.) Some were of one mind, some of another. Some "wished themselves at home," others not caring where, so that they were out of the ice." There was one who told the master that "if hee had an hundred pounds, hee would give four-score and ten to be at home;" but the carpenter made answer that "if he had an hundred, he would not give ten upon any such condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as ever he had any, and to bring it as well home, by the leave of God."—*Pricket*.

(143.) According to his journal, but "Nova Britannia" was the name which Aikin, Morgan, and Johnson, (in Gen. Biog. Vol. V.) say was given to the coast of Labrador.

(144.) Pricket.

(145.) Ib.

(146.) Viz. Thomas Wydhouse.

(147.) Dr. Forster says the young shoots, called in America the *buds* of the *spruce fir*, (*Pinus Mariana* and *Pinus Canadensis*) are also a remedy

for the scurvy. Purchas, speaking of the supposed *Tacamahaca tree*, says, "the tree blossomed in December, with leaves greene and yellow of an aromaticall savour, and being boyled, yeelded an oyly substance, which proved an excellent salve, and the decoction being drunke, proved a wholesome potion, *whereby they were cured* of scorbute, sciaticas, cramps, convulsions, and other diseases, which the coldnesse of the clymates bred in them."

(148.) This man's name was Colburn.

(149.) If we are to give credit to Pricket, "for the devil (says he) out of this so wrought with Green, that hee did the master what mischiefe hee could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the ship in the end."

(150.) Which Forster thinks was a kind of *tang*, or rock-weed, perhaps the *Fucus Saccharinus*.

(151.) One *Abacuck Pricket* (a servant of Sir *Dudley Diggs*, whom the mutineers had saved, in hope to procure his master to worke their pardon,) was left to keepe the shallop, where he sate in a gowne, sicke and lame, at the sterne, upon whom, at the instant of the ambush, the leader of all the savages leapt from a rocke, and with a strange kinde of weapon, (such as they use in Java) indented, broad, and sharpe, of bright steele, riveted into a handle of moose tooth, gave him divers cruell wounds, before he could from under his gowne draw a small Scottish dagger, wherewith at one thrust into his side, hee killed this savage, and brought him off with the boate."—*Purchas*.

(152.) Purchas.

(153.) John Weymouth.

(154.) Capt. Taylor.

(155.) The statement of Habakuk Pricket that Hudson's ship had been heaved off Diggs's Island by a *high tide* from the *westward*, induced a belief that in the western coast of Hudson's Bay there was a strait through which the tide came. Humanity demandd that if the unfortunate Hudson and his companions were alive, they should be rescued from the dreadful state of misery into which they had been plunged by the most hardened of villains. The society, therefore, fitted two ships, named the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*,* (the latter being the one Hudson commanded. Habakuk Pricket was in this expedition. They reached Diggs's Island, staid eight days, wintered in the Bay, made discoveries, and gave names to several islands, and returned to England in the Autumn of 1613, without effecting either object of their search. (Forster, 344-7.

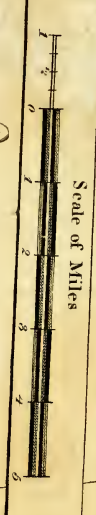
The *Discovery* performed five voyages to the north, the two last in 1615 and 1616, were under the command of Robert Bylot, who was one of the survivors of Hudson, and were all under the same society, composed of Smith, Diggs, Wolstenhome, Alderman Jones, and others. The ill success of these voyages discouraged this enterprising society, and for a long time extinguished the British spirit of northern adventure.

* The very names also of Cook's ships in his last unfortunate voyage.



W. E. B. D.

Henry Hudson in September 1609 discovered
and explored this River
The Sonckwiscen, Wabangi and Mowhawk Indians
then inhabited the Western Shores.



W. E. B. D.

English

Fort Lee

30 ft

10

298 ft

to Washington

Harlem River

McComb's Bridge

The Manhattan and Mahicanni
the Eastern Shores.

to Balcon

Manhattan

Manhattan

Manhattan

Manhattan

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L A N D



S T E R



(M A R T)
 of the **HUDSON** between
Sandy Hook & Dutch Kill
 (with the **POST ROAD** between
New York and Albany)

Published by A. T. & C. Smith, 45 N. 2d St. New York 1821.



U L



D U T C



U L

D U F C

P U T A C H C.

O R A C

P E C.



Division of Counties shown.





TY

P T E R Co



H E S S C O U N T Y





L

Hammon's Kill

Wine's Pier
& Bar

T. Mill

Castleton

Schodack

Shoalest water betw. N. Baltimore & Castleton is from 3 1/2 to 7 feet.

COPELAND'S

Coxsack's Kill

Hammon's Kill

New Baltimore

from the tide river from 3 to 6 ft.

see page 100

Coxsack Creek

to Northam 4 1/2 m.

to Union Village 4 m.

A.B.C.



The Catskill Mountains are from 7 to 10 miles distant from the Hudson River their greatest elevation above tide water is 3036 feet.



HUDSON RIVER

From New Paltz to Hudson by the
Best Channel the average Depth is 27 feet
except small holes in the bottom where it is
10 to 15 feet lower. Seasonal depth is indicated.

J. R. E. & Co.



S A R A



St Albans

C.

The Mohawk river about 20 miles North of Rome and 25 from its entrance into the Hudson its principal branches are East Canada and Schoharie Creeks.

MOHAWK RIVER

C.

Lat 42° 39' 19"

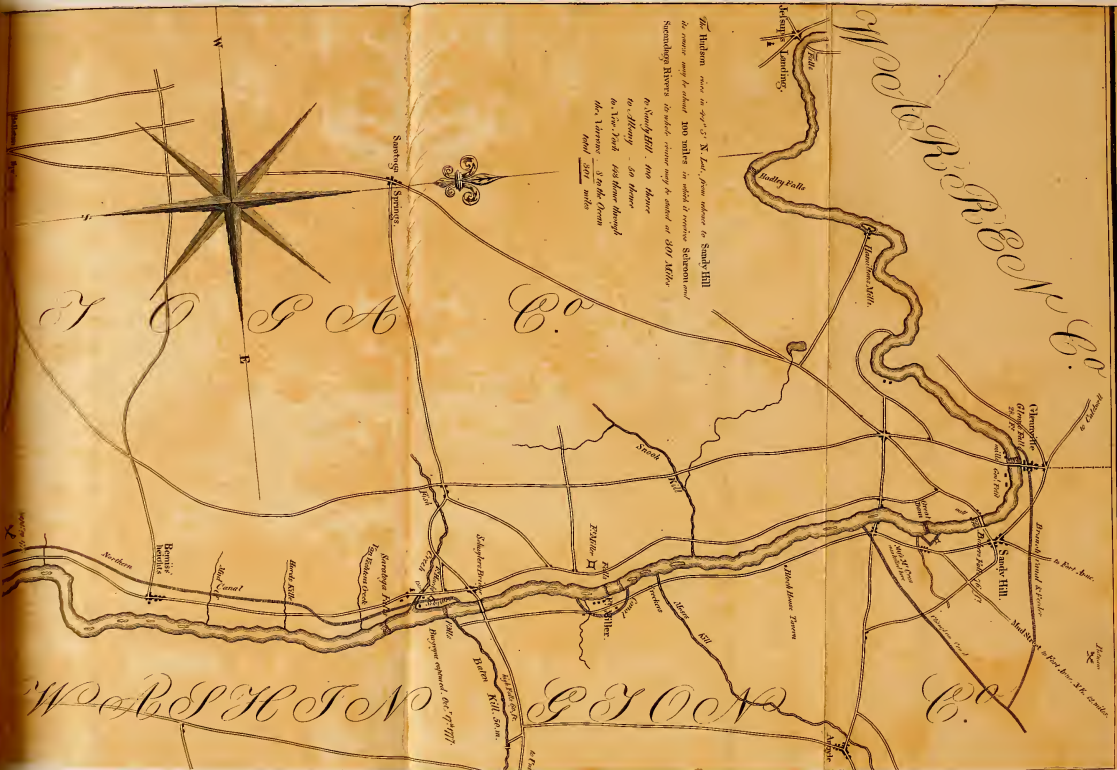
The City of Albany is situated in W. Long. 73° 51' and 42° 39' N. Lat. distant from

Quebec	394 miles
Montreal	200
Detroit	654
Sioux Falls	390
Boston	171
N York	143
Philadelphia	224
Washington	293



RECEIVED





W. C. R. R. Co.

C. O. R. Co.

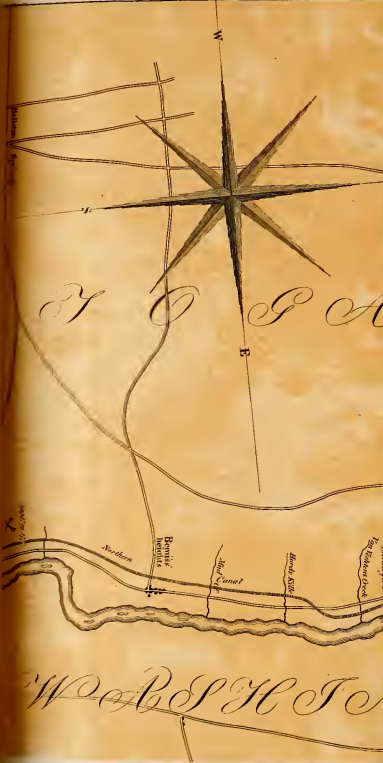
C. O. R. Co.

C. O. R. Co.

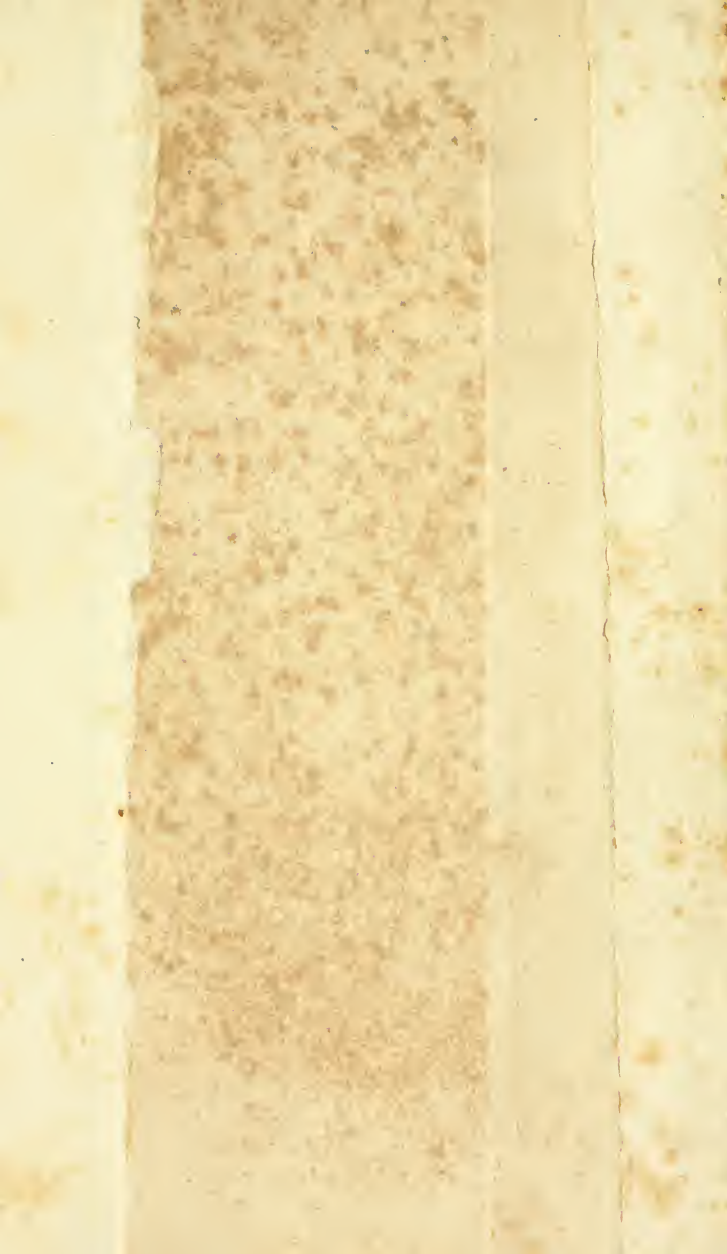
The Hudson river is 475 N. E. from where to Sandy Hill
 to river may be about 100 miles in which it receives Solon and
 Secord Rivers in which river may be about 300 Miles

to Sandy Hill two hours
 to New York 100 hours through
 the Western 100 Miles from
 about 300 miles

Sandy Springs









Nieuw Nederlandt.



This View of Port Amsterdam on the Manhattan is copied from an ancient Engraving executed in Holland, the Port was erected in 1633, but finished upon the above model by Governor Van Twiller in 1635

Van Twiller in 1635

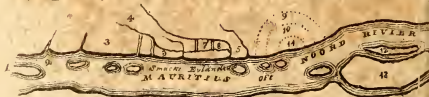


L^e Fort



*This View of
graving executed in*

BY LAERS D A E L



TWILLERS D A E L

(Reduced)

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1 Beeren Eylandt nu Renselaers Eylanden | 6 V. 11 |
| 2 Dese Heel heet van Wateraal | 7 V. 9 |
| 3 Bona Landt N ^o 1 lang 7396 breedte 536 | 8 N ^o 7 |
| 4 V. 2 & 3 lang 2324 breedte 300 breedte | 9 V. 10 |
| 5 N ^o 6 lang 500 breedte 525 | 10 V. 10 |

HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

BY JOSEPH W. MOULTON.

PART II.

NOVUM BELGIUM.

NEW-YORK :

PUBLISHED BY E. BLISS & E. WHITE.

1826.

May
F 12
N

J. Seymour, Printer, 49 John-street, New York.

Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-seventh day of May, 1826, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Joseph W. Moulton, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as author and proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

“ History of the State of New-York. By Joseph W. Moulton. Part II. Novum Belgium.”

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, “An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.” And also to an Act, entitled “an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JAMES DILL,
Clerk of the Southern District of New York.

ADVERTISEMENT TO PART II.

THIS part is presented as a sample, and as strictly the commencement of the historical work. It must not, however, be expected to contain that intimate view of society, nor to excite that intense interest in its progress, which will characterise some future numbers. The period to which this refers, was anterior to the recorded transactions of the Dutch. The first thirty years of the colony, or from the discovery in 1609 to the close of Van Twiller's Administration in 1638, is emphatically the dark era of our history. But the author has ventured to explore this terra incognita; and the intelligent reader will probably not be surprised, that so little has been brought to light, but that by any process of unwearied and elaborate investigation, it was possible to present a connected and consistent narrative of the rise and progress of the colony in its infancy. This, however, has been done, or at least attempted.

The embryo speck of the city of New-York and its first regulated commerce, are here exhibited. The contrast between the amount of exports and imports one hundred and ninety-three years ago, and those of the present day, will afford pleasure, as a subject of curiosity. But the enlightened merchant will look a little further. He will see commerce as it then was, fettered by an armed monopoly. He will now behold it in all its might and energy, sweeping over the globe, and returning its treasures to reward unrestricted enterprise and adventure. He will reflect upon the incalculable advantages of a free trade; and will perceive that hence has arisen an example of improvement, perhaps, unrivalled in the history of the world—that of the little *Dorp* or village of *New Amsterdam*, becoming the commercial mistress of the ascendant on the continent of America, and as such, the pride of twenty-four free, populous, and flourishing republican states!

It cannot be a subject of indifference to the citizens of New-York, now advancing towards a population of two millions, to retrace the commencement and early progress of the little settlement of New Belgium, or New Netherland: a colony, founded and nurtured amid the negligence and rapine of war, overlooked by the parent country, exposed to Indian hostility and the rival jealousy of surrounding European colonies, and finally subjugated, after a growth of half a century, by people of different language, views, and policy. There ought to be a deep interest to know by what steps the State has been conducted, within two ages, and literally within the remembrance of many individuals, to the secure possession of power, splendour, and refinement. Who were the pioneers—who were the helots that toiled and suffered the hardships incidental to the establishment of such an order of things? Shall their names be as the dust of their first

fort, scattered to the four winds, or buried, for ever, beneath the superincumbent rubbish? Shall we ungratefully turn away from them, as the base things of the earth—because while they were unconsciously labouring for our advantage, they had neither leisure nor opportunity to transmit to their descendants the portraiture of high polish, brilliant intellect, and transcendent virtue? There is an affectation of squeamishness—a sort of delicate infection, which makes some men revolt at the idea of coming in contact with the rude founders of our country. They look upon these, and all the incidents and events with which their names, characters, and conduct, were associated, as beneath the dignity of history. They would have history mingle only with great personages and great events; with monarchs, conquerors, and courtiers, queens, priestesses of fashion, and courtizans of rank; canvass what the common eye dare not, cannot, or would not behold—the secret policy and intrigues of courts, cabinets, and cabals. They would have history upon a comprehensive plan, march with great armies to decisive battles; trace the complex machinery of government, and survey its effects in the happiness or misery of millions of subjects; or develop, in the spirit and genius of times better adapted for the purpose than those of the colonies, the moral and intellectual character, when the collision of free opinion elicits extraordinary discoveries, and produces revolutions as astonishing in mind as in government. It is true that the colonial annals do not embrace topics on a scale of such magnitude; nor can history change the essential nature of the subject, and elevate that which is comparatively humble into something superior to itself. The reader must not, therefore, expect in these pages, the rise and progress of an empire, the constitutional history of a great kingdom, or the diversified settlements of a vast continent. But it is not the magnitude alone of the subject, or the vastness of the results, which displays topics for speculative philosophy, political calculation, and practical wisdom. Generalization, by frittering away the details, may afford cold data, but what is thus gained in abstract philosophy and politics, is lost in individual interest. The theatre of operations may be really circumscribed, the personages few, the plot and incidents comparatively unimportant; but still, human nature loves to dwell upon individuality, and hence, therefore, from that little assemblage may be derived both instruction and amusement, while the sympathies become more intensely awakened to a participation in the woes, the pleasures, and even follies of our fellow-men. The author will, in future numbers, illustrate these principles fully, by introducing a picture of society—the institutions, laws, customs, manners, costume, and anecdotes of the “olden time,” and thus add interest to the regular details of public affairs—the revolutions, wars, and politics which agitated the colony, and its progress in population and resources.

The most unpleasant task to a benevolent disposition is, that of arraigning the motives and conduct of individuals whose descendants are living. But men and measures are inseparable, when the motives of the former correspond with the pernicious consequences of the latter. Such a duty

is indispensable. And so far as the author may deem it essential to the history, he shall perform it, with studied impartiality, without unnecessary severity, but without the slightest fear. If not essential, far be it from him to recuscitate recorded criminality or posthumous slander. Few families could escape a malicious industry that should employ itself in pampering the prevailing love of scandal.

In this country, however, (thanks to the heroes of our revolution, and gratitude to that Being who gave them virtue and valour) families or individuals are estimated by their own merits and conduct, and their rise or fall is graduated accordingly. The good sense of the community has long since rebuked the injustice of inflicting a vicarious punishment, and on the other hand, the spirit of aristocracy, has long since cowered to the freedom of our institutions. The passport to all that is valuable in public or private opinion, must bear the intrinsic impress: and the avenue to political distinction or official elevation, to the walks of professional eminence or to the field of glory, are open to the ambition of all classes.

The design of the author is to comprise, within four or five volumes, the History of the Colony and State to the era of its Canal policy. The materials for the work are so abundant as to create an embarrassment of choice. Besides the manuscript collections of several societies, and the family documents of many individuals, there are one hundred volumes folio in manuscript among the records of the State, all of which must be carefully consulted. From this inestimable historical mine, not enough has been yet extracted to show its value. Little, indeed, has been done in the department of our history. The exertions of the New-York Historical Society have accumulated very rare and valuable books and manuscripts. But with the exception of their published Collections, and the inaccurate epitome of Mr. Smith,* the field of inquiry has been entirely unoccupied.

The progress of the History will necessarily be slow, unless public patronage should justify the author in suspending entirely his professional business. He has devoted two years to it, and spared no expense or exertion in personally collecting original materials from the societies of several cities, from individuals, and, through a friend† now in Europe, from the manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris. Thus far he has not realized a public patronage sufficient to remunerate the cost of printing. A task of this magnitude might have dismayed the timid, and a success of this description would certainly have alarmed the selfish. But no mercenary motives prompted the undertaking, and no moderate sacrifices shall prevent its accomplishment.‡ While the author thus avows his determination to

* His history closes in 1732. A continuation of thirty years is now in the press, and will be published in another volume of the New-York Historical Collections. This continuation may, under certain limitations, form a valuable item to the materials.

† The author expects from the same friend some valuable manuscripts from Holland.

‡ The person with whom he was originally associated (but who has been much engaged in professional and official duties) has never contributed a sentence or fact: the author in future will publish his work in his own name only.

persevere, he cannot but express his confidence, that he shall meet a rever-
sionary liberality among the intelligent citizens of this State.

The present part has been composed from facts derived from a great variety of sources. The author has aimed to exclude from his subject the character of a compilation, by clothing it in such a style, and giving to it such an arrangement, as he considered appropriate. He has endeavoured also to avoid verbal errors, similar to those which, partly from inadvertance, but principally from the printing, crept into the Introductory part. Those who have experienced the trouble of superintending the press, and have not been accustomed to discipline their minds to the minute attention of a professional abecedarian, will concede every reasonable indulgence for mistakes of this description. Notes to the work were unavoidable. It would otherwise have been impossible to have preserved connexion in narrative, or consistence in chronology. To speak of places, men, and affairs as they were anciently known and distinguished, required that modern names, allusions, and explanations should be excluded from the text.

The author submits the present part with a wish that in its perusal, the pleasure of the reader might bear some proportion to the labour and difficulty inseparable from the performance.

New-York, May 1826.

VIEW OF FORT AMSTERDAM.

THIS Picture is a bird's eye view of the localities around what is now New-York; apparently done from a recollection of their situation as seen from the heights above Weehawk, by an intelligent Dutch officer. This is sufficiently manifested in the superlative beauty and accuracy of the fort, shipping, canoes, and Indians.*

Nearly in the centre of the subject stands the elegantly regular "Fort Amsterdam;" being a square fortress, standing nearly due north and south, with bastions at each angle, (as it was in modern days) with a half-moon covering the eastern curtain; and a demi horn-work covering the western, and with a ditch surrounding the whole. On the salient angle of the south-west bastion is the Dutch standard hoisted. Outside the fort, from the salient angle of the north-west, to that of the south-east bastions, are four clusters of a few houses each; and still more to the east is a

* The author is indebted for these descriptive remarks to Archibald Robertson, Esq.

windmill. The whole stands upon the southernmost point of the island of Manhatans. The limits, towards the right of the picture, admit no more of the island, than to Domine's Hook, now the foot of Harrison-street. Over the fort is seen Long Island across the East River, with Guanas creek seeming to run far into that island. Directly off the southern point of Manhatans island, towards the left of the picture, are three armed ships, at anchor in the North river, with their heads towards the east. Above these vessels is seen the horizon at the narrows, and under them is the Jersey shore at Paulus Hook. Beneath is Hoboken, on the foreground, with the bay of Ahasimus between them. Immediately under the south point of the Manhattan is a canoe, with outriggers at stem and stern, in which are two Indians paddling it; abreast of Paulus Hook is a pettyauger with leeboards, and a high poop stern, surmounted by a Dutch marine flag, and scudding before the south-west wind up the Mauritius, Hudson, or North river. On the foreground is an elegantly formed canoe,* with five Indians on board, four of which stand up paddling along, two on each side, placed alternately; and one seated on what in this situation may be denominated the stern: the two paddlers on the starboard, have quivers filled with arrows on their backs; they are all naked to their waist-cloths—most probably of skins; and each with two long straight feathers for their crests, as all the other Indians in the piece have. At each end of this canoe, which seems calculated to sail either way, the stem and stern are raised above, about one foot, over the gunwales, and project horizontally at each end; what may be termed a bowsprit finished by a spherical head about the size of a man's. These bowsprits or handles seem an ingenious contrivance for lifting the canoe and carrying it on the land, by two men hoisting it on their shoulders, and thus as on a pole, carrying it from place to place with ease and expedition. Over the bow of this canoe towards the right of the picture, is a Dutch long-boat, with high poop, in which, amidships, are two sailors rowing: at the bow is an outlook man standing up; and at the stern are two soldiers seated, with raised pikes or muskets. On the left of this subject in the bay of Ahasimus, are two common canoes, without the outrigger apparatus: in the nearest is seen an Indian, and in the other are two paddlers, drest like those in the large war canoe, the whole of them with their heads towards the east.

As a work of art this view is very curious. It is evidently an effort of a strong memory, even allowing for the omission of Governor's Island, which the artist has apparently united to Long Island: which some have supposed was once the fact;† for in the memory of those still alive, the Buttermilk channel was nearly fordable, where is now six or seven fathoms of depth. The general proportions and shape of the land are tolerably

* Winthrop in his Journal says, the Indians of Long Island had canoes which would contain sixty persons.

† This however was not the case in the time of the first two Dutch governors, Minuit and Van Twiller, for the island is expressly referred to in the Dutch records, as *Nooten Eylandt*, or Island of Nuts.

correct, and the shipping and canoes elegantly so. But in the proportion of the shipping to the extent of the land, there is a wonderful mistake ; for the distance between New-York and Paulus Hook we know to be a mile and one quarter, which the length of their three ships do more than fill up, thus making each vessel to be from stem to stern half a mile long—let this be corrected and all would be faultless.

Fort Amsterdam occupied the site of the two blocks of houses formed by the Bowling Green, State, Pearl, and Whitehall streets. The salient angles of the north-east and north-west bastions, formed the angles at the corners of Whitehall-street and Bowling Green, whilst that of the Bowling Green and State-street formed the other: the salient angles of the south-east and south-west bastions form now the corner of Whitehall and Pearl-streets ; and that of Pearl and State streets formed the other salient angle. The half-moon covering the east curtain of the fort extended across and beyond Whitehall street, and the demi horn-work covering the west curtain crossed State-street, and projected some distance into our present Battery ; although the great gate is not represented* on this picture, yet we know it was in the centre of the north curtain facing the Bowling Green.

The cluster of houses at the salient angle of the north-west bastion stood upon the block contained within Broadway, Marketfield, and Greenwich streets and Beaver-lane. The cluster standing off the north-east bastion was contained in the block within Beaver, Broad, and Stone streets and Broadway ; and between these two stand a cluster in the centre of what is now Broadway near the Bowling Green ; and a fourth cluster stands where now are Water and Moore streets. A little to the east of these is a windmill, near a creek which flowed where now is Broad-street. Upon what is now the Bowling Green stands a pole or gibbet for the punishment of transgressors, on which, it has been said, they were hoisted by the waist and there suspended, during a longer or shorter period, proportionate to merited suffering and disgrace.

The plate represents but few buildings, and consequently there were but few inhabitants. It is also curious as affording an opportunity to contrast, not only the size, construction of buildings, population, and commerce of that day and those of the present city of New-York, but the water craft, then and now : then the annual arrival of more than two or three ships from Holland was an extraordinary circumstance ; now, two thousand sail of vessels of every description float upon these waters. Vessels of the most beautiful structure have taken place of the clumsy marine architecture of that day. Ships of the largest size are substituted for the Dutch yachts ; and instead of canoes, almost an equal number of steam boats now ply between the cities and towns on the Hudson and between New-York and the neighbouring states : some of them of four and five hundred tons burthen, and frequently conveying an equal number of passengers.

* The fort had also a water gate at the south side, as appears from allusions made to it in the Dutch records.

HISTORY

OF

NEW NETHERLAND.

CHAPTER I.

From 1609 to 1614. Hudson's discovery. Its effect in Holland, considered in connexion with a retrospection of the character, resources, public policy, and predominant genius of that country, at this period. The second visit to the Hudson River in 1610—its object and consequences. Transient navigators. Mana-hata and Kayingahaga Indians—Fur Trade—Temporary structures near Schenectadea in 1613, and on Manhattan 1614—Competition in the Trade—Remonstrance to the States General—their decree in favor of those who had an agency in the discovery—consequently the foundation of the first licensed Trading Company.

THE discovery of the *Great River of the Mountains*, by Henry Hudson, and the novel incidents of his adventure, have been described in the introduction to this history. Intercepted in his return to Holland, by an exertion of the royal prerogative in England, he embarked from London, on a northern voyage, and perished; while the vessel which he had commanded upon this discovery, was allowed, with its Dutch sailors, to return to Amsterdam in the spring of 1610.* The encomium which he previously transmitted from England, upon "the pleasantest land for cultivating that men need tread upon,"† was now reiterated by these companions of his discovery. They had seen the country arrayed in autumnal luxuriance, and had experienced only, that, like Holland, it was

* See Introduction, or Part I. §. 48, 49, 53. p. 274-6.

† De Laet Beschryvinghe van Nieuwe Wereldt ofte West Indien, 1625.

subject to variable winds, the lightning and thunder of heaven, and the storm and tempest : but its picturesque appearance—variegated by the beauties of spontaneous vegetation, and the magnificence of mountain scenery ; the richness of its soil, the variety and abundance of its game, fish, furs, and ship timber, could not fail to captivate the senses and impress the minds of a people, stimulated by successful enterprises, flushed with recent victories, fired by ambition and national glory, and unrivalled for a skilful and frugal industry, that had spread its prodigies over a country, presenting a surface of sand and fen, embracing four hundred thousand morgen* only of arable land, and therefore inadequate in peace or war, to feed its population. The sanguinary contest with Spain, just suspended by a twelve years' armistice, had, in the course of thirty years, concentrated in Holland a dense population. Adventurers from every quarter flocked thither—industry of every species found employment—artisans, mechanics, manufacturers, and labourers were invited, and multitudes cherished and protected, who in other countries, would have been exposed to want, or as heretics, to the stake. The public laws, dictated by a benign spirit of toleration, had sanctioned it as the asylum of the persecuted, and its standard of liberty, supported by an invincible perseverance in chivalric courage, had rallied the friends of freedom from every part of Europe.

If a people so characterised, so signalised, and so located, could not resist a strong impression in favour of a country, so naturally superior to the land of their nativity or adoption,

* The morgen is not quite two acres of land. An explanation of this measure, as it prevailed in the colony of New-York, may be useful to the understanding of many Dutch patents. The Rhinsland rod was the Dutch measure for land, contained 12 English feet, 4 inches, 3 quarters ; there are 5 to a Dutch chain, which consequently contains 61 feet, 11 inches and 3 quarters—25 such rods long and 24 broad, make a morgen, which consists of 600 square Dutch rods. (Peter Fauconnier's survey book, 1715 to 1734, manuscript, in MSS. of New-York Historical Society.)

was the present crisis in public affairs or the present condition of the society, the national policy, or the spirit of private enterprise to produce a consequence to the discovery favourable to immediate colonization? At the present crisis, the public tranquillity had divested of employment a vast number of people who had served in the armies and navy of the Republic, and of whom many had been too familiar with scenes of violence, and too little accustomed to respect the rights of persons and property, to be at once beggared and contented. As it is the policy of every wise government to encourage national industry, and to devise ways and means to give full employment to the energies of the people, because the measure is not only conducive to national wealth, but salutary to public morals: so, at the present period, the government of the United Provinces might have acted wisely, by introducing some plan of colonization, which heretofore had properly been excluded from their policy, because they had not felt the incumbrance of a superfluous population.

Subsistence for a people vastly disproportioned in numbers to the natural capacity of the country, had been the tribute of the world to that astonishing skill which reared a great national fabric, adapted to the peculiar interests and condition of the country—a tribute to the perseverance that sustained it, and the valour that, amid the fury of war, secured to it unrivaled strength and magnificence. Its four great pillars were, manufactures, fisheries, the carrying trade, and traffic: the main pillar was the last, and arose, like the country itself, from the ocean. Without indigenous productions to freight a hundred ships, Holland and its confederate provinces annually built a thousand. They had more than England and ten other kingdoms of Christendom.* Twenty thousand vessels, and more than two hundred thousand mariners, displayed

* According to Sir Walter Raleigh's report to King James. See John De Witt's *True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland and West Friesland*. Printed, London, 1702, part I. c. 3.6. See vol. 23 *Quarterly Review*, p. 435. In *three days* in 1601, says De Witt on authority of Emanuel Van Meteren, there sailed out of Holland, eastward, between 800 and 900 ships, and 1500 busses for herring fishery alone.

the republican flag on the Baltic and Mediterranean, on the coast of Great Britain, in Africa, in the West Indies, on the Indian Ocean, and within the Arctic Circle.

Hence had arisen the national resources, and hence also the national character received its predominant impression. Although the recent armistice, by ensuring safety, invigorated private enterprise, and gave extraordinary impetus to the peculiar genius of the nation, yet the multitudes that had been dismissed from public service, without any equivalent provision in their favour, were threatened with indigence, and forced to flee the country, or to roam over it as depredators, or in the capacity of pirates, to raise a parricidal arm against the hand that had fed them. The government, from an inflexible perseverance in a policy which would not yield to the exigencies of times or circumstances, did not possess the wisdom, or perceive the expediency of providing, by suitable encouragement, for the colonization of a country, which certainly presented to a surplus population an excellent opening, and to Holland the assurance of an inexhaustible granary. Such an enterprise was therefore left to the spirit of private adventure. But this had acquired the peculiar bent, which has been mentioned, and it cannot therefore be imagined, that, without any direct interposition of government in favour of a colony, the superior fertility of the new world would tempt a commercial people, to vary habits of pursuit which had become almost inflexible, or counterbalance the strength of prepossessions that held the father-land precious by a thousand associations.

The fur trade and fisheries were, however, among the prevailing objects of private adventure, and the discovery of Hudson opportunely awakened attention to these, as objects of gain. The city of Amsterdam, whence he had embarked, containing about one fifth* of the resident inhabitants of that province of which it was the metropolis, was the centre of maritime operations. Here every commercial project was inves-

* 115,022—see poll-tax list, Gerard Malines, *Lex Mercatoria*, cited by De Witt P. I. c. 9.

tigated, and hence every new avenue to wealth was explored. The Amsterdam directors of the East India company, who particularly had patronised Hudson's design of a northern passage to India, though disappointed in this object, appreciated his minor discovery.* They looked to the *Great River*,† and anticipated an indemnity for past expenses, in the profits of an article of commerce, heretofore obtained through the agency of the Muscovian‡ and other traders, in the north of Europe. Furs, objects of luxury and cost to Europeans, were to be purchased from the Indians, with the baubles and trinkets of Haerlem and Nuremberg. In this traffic, therefore, gold and silver, the exportation of which the States General had this year (1610) unwisely prohibited,§ would have been superfluous, for the purest ingots were less valuable to the Indians, whom Hudson visited, than their own shell money, copper ornaments or stone pipes. From these causes, and under indications thus favourable, a ship was equipped this year,|| for a second visit to the *Cohohatatéa*¶ of the aborigines. As the only object was a cargo of furs, the voyage was unimportant, excepting in its consequences, for it was the prelude to the fur trade, in which was the germ of the future colonization of the country. Some of the companions of Hudson may have now piloted this ship to the scene of their first interesting adventure, for the Indians say, by tradition,** that the *Assyreoni*, or cloth makers, and *Charistooni*, or iron workers,†† whom they had hailed as celestial beings, came the next year agreeably to their promise.

* Intro. sec. 48, p. 202.

† *Groote Rivier*—the Hudson.

‡ Dutch Records, letter A. or vol. II. 10-13 of Vander Kemp's Translation.

§ De Witt P. I. c. 23.

|| De Laet.

¶ Indian name of the Hudson.

** See the tradition, Intro. sec. 51, p. 251.

†† These were the names the Mohawks gave to the Dutch, (according to Rev. J. Megapolensis, the first clergyman in Rensselaerwyck, in his *Kort Omtwerp vande Mahakuase Indianen, en Nieuw Nederlandt, haer Landt*, &c. 1644. Note.—This is in manuscript among the Du Simitiere MSS. of

The voyage was successful, and therefore repeated. The fame of its profits and of the country stimulated adventurers; and within three years, much competition arose in this new branch of the commerce of Holland. The hostility of the Indians on the eastern shore of the Great River, manifested even while Hudson was sailing upon it, rendered succeeding navigators cautious in their approaches; and therefore they confined themselves, during their first visits, to their ships, and traded with the natives in canoes, for furs, oysters,† wild fowl, maize, beans, and tobacco. The *Kayingahaga*, or Mohawks, who, in an oration‡ to Hudson, appeared, amid their joyful surprise and exuberance of good will, to tender their country and all their wealth, maintained a cordial and undiminished friendship. In their neighbourhood the ships, of which some wintered,§ were safe, and intercourse was less guarded. This was the head of ship navigation, and the chief mart of the fur trade; the principal source of which extending north, was *Couxsachraga*, or the *Dismal Wilderness*,|| the beaver hunting country of the five confederate nations of Indians. Assailed by Champlain, the founder of Quebec, at the head of his Indian allies, they were impelled by the strongest motives to cultivate harmony with the Dutch, and consequently obtain, in exchange for furs, such novel engines of war as had

the Philadelphia Library.) The Delawares called the Dutch *Swannakwak*, (Heckewelder, but see Intro. sec. 51, p. 255.) This name perhaps arose from the name of *Swaendael*, on the Delaware river, where the Dutch were massacred. De Vries says these Indians denominated the Dutch Swaendaels, or Swanekens. The New England Indians named the English *Chauquaquock*, or knife-men, (from *Chauquock* a knife—Roger Williams' key to the Indian language, 1643.) The Canada Indians called all the French *Normands*, (Nova Francia, or three voyages of De Monts, &c. translated from the French. London, 1609.) See as to the early visits of the *Norrman*, or Scandinavians, Intro. sec. 27.

† No lobsters were found on the coast at this period, according to tradition, related by Kalm, in travels I. 127-8.

‡ See Intro. sec. 51.

§ De Laet.

|| The northern counties of New-York, forming the triangle bounded by lakes Ontario, Champlain, and the rivers thence flowing.

recently given to the *Algonquins* a victorious superiority. The Mohawks, indeed, were very early denominated by the other Indians, Sankhicanni, or fire-workers, in consequence of the astonishment of their neighbours at beholding in their hands the clumsy guns with match-locks, which the Dutch had furnished them.*

It has been affirmed,† that as early as 1613, an insignificant warehouse was erected on a small island just below *Skaghneghtady*‡; and that in 1614, four houses§ were on the island which Hudson had, five years previously, mentioned as *Manahata*. This is possible. The fierce inhabitants of this island, cruel and inimical as the Dutch|| say they were, may have mitigated their hostility, and, imitating the policy of their hereditary foes, the Mohawks, allowed huts for traffic and fishing. These must have been temporary in design, and consequently frail in structure; for no fortified or permanent settlement could have been contemplated, so long as the country was unappropriated, and the trade thither was participated by all adventurers. Competition had indeed become so disadvantageous to individual enterprise, that those who had seconded Hudson's voyage, sensibly felt the effects of a rivalry which they had no power to prevent: for, as an East India Company, their charter could not embrace this western region; and if the unauthorised assertion,¶ that Hudson sold to them his discovery, had been true, they could not thence, in a corporate capacity, have acquired an exclusive interest, as no public sanction had secured to them the monopoly. A memorial was therefore presented to their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General,** stating that they who had incurred the ex-

* See Intro. sec. 41, p. 177.

† Acrelius, *Nya-Sverige*.

‡ (Albany) signifying *the other side of the pine*, (Col. Brant, in MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society.)

§ Plantagenet's New-Albion.

|| De Laet.

¶ See Smith's New-York. See Intro. sec. 53, p. 275.

** De Hooge Moghenda Heeren Staten Generael,

pense and risk of originating discoveries, were prevented, by an unjust competition, from realizing an adequate remuneration. The States accordingly passed an edict on the 27th day of March, 1614,* that "all persons who had discovered, or who might discover, any rivers, bays, harbours or countries before unknown, should enjoy, besides other advantages, the exclusive trade there for four successive voyages." This was the first recognition by the Republic, of an exclusive right vested in its citizens by the discovery of any part of the New World, or West Indies, as it was then denominated; and this was the foundation of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading West Indian Company.

* *Groot Plakaatboek*, I. D. 563, or Book of Resolutions, as cited by Lambrechtsen in *Korte Beschrijving*, &c. van Nieuw Nederland, &c. This was undoubtedly the correct date, as is confirmed by De Laet, book III. c. 9. But *l'Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. xxi. 280, places the grant in 1610: Joost Hartger in *Beschryvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederland, Nieuw Engeland*, &c. Amst. 1651, (a MS. copy of which is in the Loganian Library) fixes the date 1611. Abm. Yates, jun. in letter to Jedediah Morse, 1793, (MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society) puts the grant 27th March, 1612.

CHAPTER II.

1614 to 1621. The operations of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading Company. *Schipper Blok's* and *Christiaanse's* voyage to Manhattan and discoveries. First fortified settlement on Casteel Eyland (1614), on Manhattan (1615.) The *Opper hoofd* and *commis*. Reflections on the character of this military and commercial establishment. Treaty of alliance with the *Kenunctioni*. Removal from Castle Island to Nordtman's kill, (1617.) Dutch at Esopus, Bergen, Schenectady, (1620.) No colony contemplated. English claim the Hudson. Argall's supposed conquest of Manhattan. The English were the first that designed a colony, (1620.) The founders of New England intended to settle near the Hudson. The Dutch now projecting the establishment of a great National Society, and under its auspices a permanent settlement on the Great River.

THE members of this company had a double object: to secure the possession of the Great River by fortifications, and to extend their commercial privileges under the edict by the discovery of circumjacent places. The same year (1614) two ships were, therefore, equipped, and commanded by *Adriaan Blok* and *Hendrik Christiaanse*. They left Holland. *Schipper Blok* arrived first at Manhattan. His ship was accidentally burned. He erected on the shore of the river, a small vessel,* the first specimen of marine architecture superior to a canoe which had probably ever been finished here, and the first ocular demonstration to the Indians of the pre-eminent intelligence and skill of the *Charistooni*.† In this vessel, *Blok* sailed from the Great River, upon a voyage of exploration and discovery. He distinguished by the name of *Helle-gadt rivier*,‡ the water flowing from *Pag-gank*,§ to *Helle-gadt*,|| between Manhattan and *Sewanhacky*,

* Yacht 44½ feet long on deck, 11½ wide. De Laet.

† See note, page 337.

‡ Named afterwards *Oost rivier*—East river.

§ Indian name of Governor's Island, in the bay of New-York. The Dutch called it *Nooten Eylandt*, from the nuts found on it.

|| Hole of hell, or hellish hole. Hell Gate.

or the *Island of Shells*.* He determined its insular situation,† examined the places in the *Great Bay*,‡ and sailed to the coast which Hudson had named New Holland, and the English Cape Cod. Here he met *Schipper Christiaanse*' ship, embarked, and left his yacht to be used by a fishing party. After this arrangement, the two navigators examined the neighbouring islands and coast, probably before they proceeded to the Great River, to accomplish the chief design of their voyage. The islands recognised by the Dutch as Christiaanse island and Blok island, may have been so named at this time, in conformity to the custom of Hollanders who considered themselves first discoverers.§

Blok bestowed upon the cluster of islands near the west shore|| of the great bay of Sewanhacky, the appellation of *Archipelago*,¶ and to the Housatunnuk, the name of the river of the red mountain.** But the discoveries, to which it may be necessary hereafter to advert, as more important than any others made this year, were of the Narraganset bay, which the Dutch denominated bay of Nassau,‡‡ and river, ' *Con-*

* This was the real name of Long Island, as appears from deeds to Wouter Van Twiller, and others. It has been called Matouwax and Paumunake. These were local names on that island. (See Indian map and notes to this history.) Sewan was the name of Indian shell-money, *hacky*, or *hackink-on*, or *in the land*.—Delaware language.

† Dr. Belknap was therefore mistaken (*American Biography*, life of Gorges, Prefatory Essay) in attributing to Thomas Dermer, the first exploration, in 1619, of Long Island Sound, and the determination of the insular situation.

‡ *Groot Baai*—Long Island Sound.

§ *Christiaanse Eylandt* was the name given to No-Mans-Land, then called by the English Martha's Vineyard, which name has been since attached to a large island in the vicinity of No-Mans-Land. *Blok island* retains its name.

|| Opposite Norwalk in Connecticut.

¶ Or Archipel, as truncated—the name, also, of the *Ægean Sea* between Greece and Asia, and improperly applied to the aggregate of islands.

** *Rooden-Bergh rivier*, or, according to De Laet, *Rivier van den Roy-enberch*.

‡‡ Embracing *Rood* (red) *Eylandt*, whence Rhode Island. Dutch records:

necticoot or *Sickagothe*, which from its freshness was named *Versche rivier*.* This river was thoroughly explored. It was inhabited by a numerous Indian population, of which, one of the tribes, named *Nawas*, had, in the latitude $41^{\circ} 48'$, a town fortified against the inroads of enemies.†

It is presumed that the two navigators, having completed their discoveries, fishing, and traffic with the natives of these islands, coasts, and rivers, retired in the fall to the Great River, and under the superintendence of one or both, the first fortified settlement was there established. A redoubt‡ was raised (1614) on the small island before mentioned, designated by its fortification *Casteel Eylandt*,§ surrounded by a ditch eighteen feet wide, mounted by two brass pieces and eleven stone guns, (*steen stucken*), and garrisoned by a dozen soldiers. The *opper-hoofdt*, or chief commander, was Christiaanse, and his lieutenant, or commissary of the licensed traders, was *Jaques Elckens*,|| who had been clerk to a merchant in Amsterdam.¶

The advantage of traffic and of arms induced the Mohawks to permit the erection of this fortification. These *men of blood*,** who had conquered or exacted tribute from some of the neighbouring tribes, had the sagacity to perceive, that by securing the friendship of the Hollanders, they might render

* Fresh river.

† De Laet does not name the discoverer of the Connecticut, but says, "Blok with his yacht sailed through Hell-gate into the Great bay, and examined all the places about it, and sailed to Cape Cod," &c. It is possible he explored this river before he met Christiaanse. Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, says it is uncertain who discovered this river. But Hubbard admits the Dutch discovered it, (*History New Eng. ch. L.—see vol. v. Massachusetts's Historical Collections, (N. S.) p. 18. 170.*) He certainly cannot be charged with partiality towards "the beast of trade," the "Hogen Mogens and bewintehebbbers," as he terms them.

‡ See note (156).

§ Castle Island, just below Albany ferry.

|| De Laet, 1625. The name by Lambrechtsen (1818) is Jakob Helkens..

¶ De Vries—MS. copy.

** *Mohocht* means blood in their language: a title peculiarly appropriate, as will be shown in the supplemental history of the five nations.

their acquired superiority durable, and their ferocious bravery terrible to those who, in alliance with the founder of Quebec, were still entertaining the haughty but delusive hope of exterminating them and their confederates of the five nations. They could not foresee their own desolation as a people, in the ultimate effect of a measure, which virtually transferred the sovereignty over their country; and their numbers, peculiar relations and condition were, therefore, far better adapted to guaranty the unmolested progress of a colony, had colonization been contemplated by the Dutch, than the only two North American colonies from Europe had yet experienced in Virginia and Canada.

The Indians of Manhattan, descendants of the once war-like Minsi tribe of the Lenni Lenape, were not inattentive to a policy so obvious, and so ambitious. They might despair of regaining the boasted ascendancy of their tribe and nation; but hereditary hatred towards the five nations, aggravated by the tradition of former greatness, or even the rival jealousy of traffic, would predominate over their reluctance to permit a fortified entrenchment. The following year (1615) they allowed a redoubt to be thrown up and fortified, on an elevated spot on the west bank of the river, near the southern extremity of the island.* The licensed trading company had now possession of the two most important positions on the river. That on Manhattan was the principal rendezvous for their ships; and thence, with furs collected from all the neighbouring rivers and coasts, their vessels departed annually for Amsterdam.

In the progress of an establishment, so purely military and commercial, and so single in the range of its commerce, few incidents could have transpired worthy of record, and probably none which could elevate in moral or intellectual dignity, the character of these pioneers of colonization. In communities where all the lights of science and religion are perfectly

* On the site of the Macomb houses in Broadway, New-York, according to tradition, as related by the Rev. John N. Abeel, in MSS. of New-York Historical Society.

accessible, and the widest scope is offered to the noblest efforts of intellect and to the generous energies of philanthropy, we find men with minds so infected with the idolatry of avarice as to despise all illumination but that of the golden altar : with hearts so palsied by the unhallowed devotion, as to resist every expansive and touching impress. They admit no sentimental refinement, upon the plain maxim of gainful Carthage—no ethic restriction upon the vantage ground of sagacious speculation—no limitation to the imperious creed of victorious extortion.* They recognise no moral sublimity or beauty in a monumental fame, purchased by public munificence and secured by public gratitude—or in that celebrity which the father tells to his children, or in the impassioned praises of private gratitude when the name of benefactor is uttered, or in that still voice of active emulation, which, kindling into enthusiasm from the influence of authority, without the necessity of precept, conveys to the author of great deeds and good qualities the delicacy of reward without the grossness of compliment. They listen to no voice of humanity, when to bless and be blessed would be the mighty gain for a little subtraction from the mass, which even spendthrift prodigality could hardly exhaust ; and seldom do they betray by accident, and by design never, one solitary attribute of excellence, to vindicate the nobility of human nature, from the perishable worthlessness of their names and general example. When men so situated, and so actuated, are not unfrequently seen in the ranks of polished and enlightened society, what either illustrious in virtue or signal in action could be expected from those whose object was gain, and nothing else ? who, in its precarious pursuit, had abandoned the fire-sides and endearments of their native country ; whose location was irresponsible to authority, because beyond the pale of law, and whose intercourse with the natives, or with each other, must, therefore, have been governed by motives of fear and policy, rather than by principle.

* ————Sed quæ reverentia legum?

Quis metus, aut pudor est unquam properantis avari? JUVENAL.

There was, however, one political measure deserving a memorial:—the alliance by a formal treaty with the *Five Nation Confederacy** or *united people*.† Prior intercourse between the Dutch and at least one of those nations, had been regulated by that informal good understanding which arose from their peculiar circumstances, from mutual fear, hope, palpable interest and obvious necessity.

In 1617 the Dutch were obliged to abandon their fort on Castle Island, in consequence of the high floods. They removed about four miles south, to the shore of a creek called by them Nordtman's kill, where they erected a new fortification, and where the treaty, probably about the same time, was concluded in the primitive solemnity which characterised the public transactions of the Indians. The importance attached to the treaty, by the five nations, was evinced by the delegation of those chiefs, who bore the names or titles which had a century previously distinguished the deputies that formed that confederacy; in commemoration of which it was then stipulated, that one chief of each nation should always wear the same name or title.‡

The Lenni Lenape and Mahiccans, say they were also invited by the *Sankhicanni*, or Mohawks, the prime movers of the treaty; that the belt of peace was laid over their shoulders, as the nation of women; that one end of the long belt was to be held fast by the Dutch, the other by the warlike nations. Here the tomahawk was trampled into the earth, the Dutch declaring they would erect a church over it, and that none should dig it up without overturning the edifice, and incurring the resentment of its builders.§ The treaty was preserved in good faith, and became highly important to the tranquil prosperity of the Dutch, and highly conducive to

* Kenunctioni.

† Agonnoisionni.

‡ The names were *Tekanawilagh*, of the Kayingahaga, (Mohawks)—*Olatshighte*, of the Oneayoté, (Oneidas)—*T'hatodarho*, of the Ononda-agaes, or O-non-dau-gohs—*S'honōnuwendōwane*, of the Kai-u-gues or Cahugas—*Kanniadariorh* and *S'hadekarōnyes*, of the Chenandoanes, (Senecas.)

§ See note (157.)

the ascendancy which the united people maintained, and the terror they inspired among other Indians of North America.

The security thus guaranteed, the increasing profits of trade, and the natural advantages of the country, were favourable to the enlargement of settlements. It has been asserted that about this period some Hollanders settled among the Esopus Indians, others in 1618, in the rich and extensive vale of *Talpahockin*,* and others in 1620, on the great plain†, which was an ancient seat of the immediate allies of the Dutch.‡ It is nevertheless extremely problematical, whether at the last date any Dutch family was settled in the country which Hudson discovered from the bay of the South river§ to New Holland. Agents of the company may have resided at the above-mentioned places to promote trade, cultivate harmony, and learn the language of the Indians. But the foundation of a permanent colony had not been comprehended among the ambitious plans of the Hollanders, for reasons which in part have been assigned. Another cause may have co-operated to deter them from thus appropriating the country—the title to it which England traced to the discovery of the Cabots. Though there is not any evidence that they saw the coast near Manhattan, yet it was comprehended in the English claim to almost all North America, and was patented by Queen Elizabeth under the general denomination of Virginia. This was subdivided by her successor into North and South Virginia, three years before Hudson's discovery.|| As the patentees were enjoined in the patents, from settling their respective colonies within one hundred miles of each other, it resulted, that the Manhattan was virtually left by that sin-

* The country south of the Highlands, forming the vale of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is said that in 1618 a settlement was at Bergen in *Scheyichbi*, or New-Jersey.

† Connughhariegughharie—city of Schenectady.

‡ See note (158.)

§ *Zuydt rivier*, the Dutch name of the Delaware.

|| See Intro. § 23. 40.

gular provision, *vacuum domicilium*, and if the injunction had not been given before Hudson's discovery, it might have been construed as an intentional concession of King James in favour of his republican friends.* But the policy of that monarch was averse to any such concession. This is apparent from the displeasure manifested, when it was ascertained that Hudson, a native of England, had effected the discovery in the service of the Hollanders; from the inconsistent claim the English made to the discovery by virtue of his nativity;† from the name of the Hudson which they gave to the river discovered; and from the title to it, which they asserted upon every occasion, and vindicated, in one instance, at a very early date, by force of arms, if credit is due to the story of Captain Argall's conquest of the Dutch settlement in 1614. In the month of March of that year, Sir Thomas Gates, one of the patentees of South Virginia, left its government to Sir Thomas Dale, and retired to England. Captain Samuel Argall, pursuant to Governor Dale's commission to him, accomplished an expedition directed against Port Royal in Canada,‡ returned to Virginia with the spoils of his conquest, and sailed in June to England.§ If to the conquest of the French he added that of the Dutch, this must have been achieved between March and June. It has been remarked, that prior to

* See a "Declaration and Manifestation by way of Speech," (N. Y. Historical Collections, III. 375.) Governor Stuyvesant's Ambassadors to the Court of Lord Baltimore, were therefore mistaken in saying that King James had made this provision as an allotment for the Dutch plantation.

† See Intro. § 53, p. 278, 276.

‡ Or Acadia. The French claimed the country in collision to the English title, and say that the Basques discovered Newfoundland and Canada 100 years before Columbus. Le Beau, tom. I. 43.

§ Capt. Smith's History of Virginia, London, 1629 (reprinted in Richmond, Virginia.) Gates departed March 1614, (vol. 2, p. 22,) left the government to Dale, (p. 18,) and Argall after his expedition against the French, sailed towards England in June (p. 23) and Dale with Pocahontas and her husband went to England in 1616. (Smith, p. 26, &c. 33.) This settles the date of the expedition which by others has been placed at periods earlier and later than 1614. (See Prince's Annals. Belknap's Biography. Douglass' Summary, &c.)

March, when the decree of the States gave political existence to the licensed company, transient navigators may have erected huts on the Manhattan, but it has also been apparent that Christiaan could not probably have arrived at Manhattan, from Holland, in time for Argall's alleged conquest to take effect through the submission of the former. The relation is this: that Argall on his return from the north, landed upon Manhattan, found four houses and a pretended Dutch governor, whom he informed that his commission required him to expel all intruders, exacted from him a written submission to the crown of England and government of Virginia, compelled him to pay the expenses of his voyage, and on arriving in Virginia deposited the letter of submission including a promise of tribute, in the archives of that colony.* Captain Smith, the same

* The following seems to have been the earliest account of this conquest.

"Virginia being granted, settled, and all that part now called Maryland, New-Albion, and New-Scotland, being part of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Samuel Argoll, captains and counsellors of Virginia, hearing of divers aliens and intruders, and traders without license, with a vessel and forty soldiers, landed at a place called Mount Desert, in Nova Scotia, near St. John's River, or Twede, possess'd by the French, there killed some French, took away their guns, and dismantled the fort, and in their return landed at Manhata's-Isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor, under the West-India Company of Amsterdam share or part; who kept trading boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him, their commission was to expel him and all aliens, intruders on his majesty's dominions and territories; this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson an Englishman; the Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage, and by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company, and plantation to his majesty, and to the governor and government of Virginia." (Beauchamp Plantaganet's "Description of the province of New-Albion, and a direction for adventurers with small stock to get two for one, and good land freely," &c. London 1648. *Note.* This scarce work is in the Loganian library, Philadelphia, and is the first English account of the country, now New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.)

The facts stated in the above extract, are incorrect in many particulars. But the author was labouring to vindicate the English title to New Netherland, and support the patent from King Charles to Sir Edmond Plowden,

season, sailed to North Virginia, which he quaintly called the "Virgin's Sister," constructed a rude map of the coast from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and named the country New-England. He and Argall may have met Christiaanse and Blok, or their fishing party at Cape Cod, and considering them as much intruders on this coast as the French at Fort Royal, may possibly have enforced a submission—for it is said,* that the Dutch in their northern fisheries were so much molested by the English during the armistice, that repeated but ineffectual remonstrances were made by the ambassador of the United Provinces to the court of James. But if Argall compelled Christiaanse or Blok, either before or after they arrived at Manhattan, to submit to a superior force, would not Captain Smith, then in the Council of Virginia, have been apprised of the conquest? In his account of the expedition, he is entirely silent in relation to the Dutch, and so are his contemporaries.† Admitting the story to be true, and yield-

which included Pavonia (New-Jersey) and was resisted by Governor Keift and Governor Stuyvesant, as well as by Governor Printz of New Sweden, on the Delaware. The patent is described in the history of Van Twiller's administration.

Upon this authority, thirty-four years after the supposed conquest, it seems that the story has been reiterated without contradiction, by many respectable names, of whom some however have varied the original account, by saying that Argall proceeded up the Hudson river and captured the fort commanded by Christiaanse. (See Ebeling's *Staats New-York*. Smith's *New-York*. Smith's *New-Jersey*. Marshall's *Washington*, I. 57. Chalmer's *Political Annals*. Holmes' *Annals*. Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 133.)

The last writer (Stith) might have been conclusive, had he published the written submission which is said to have been deposited; for it seems (see a letter of Mr. Jefferson in MSS of N. Y. Historical Society) he had full access to those early records of Virginia, which were burnt in the public office at Williamsburgh.

Some of the foregoing writers say, that the year after Argall's hostile visit, a new Dutch governor arrived at Manhattan, and threw off all subjection to Virginia, &c. If the whole statement be not an error, this part of it might coincide with what I conceive was the fact, that Christiaanse having arrived the fall previously, did in 1615, erect a redoubt on that Island.

* De Witt.

† De Laet, who relates Blok's voyage, speaks of Christaause, and describes New Netherland in 1625, (*Beschryvinghe van nieuw wereld*, &c.)

ing to it its full effect, to what does the supposed conquest amount? The governor of Virginia, in a period of profound peace, attacked the French and Dutch, without the previous authority or subsequent sanction of the English government. Christiaanse the chief officer of the Amsterdam licensed company, acting here within the scope of privileges limited by the edict of the States-General, was forced to submit to the governor of Virginia, and promised to pay the English a duty on beavers. All this may have been true, and still the title from priority of discovery and possession would remain unimpaired, until the States-General should officially surrender the same. But the States, it has been further affirmed, caused an application to King James for licence to erect huts for the accommodation of their fleets sailing, during this period of public tranquillity, to the West-Indies—that the permission was granted—that the name of Staten-Island,* or States-Island, arose from this incident—that the Dutch settlement was distinguished as New-Virginia, because it was dependent on old Virginia, and that the Dutch having cunningly obtained possession, finally threw off all disguise and boldly claimed the country.† Such conduct would have betrayed the subtle struggles of imbecility, or the conscious want of rectitude, seeking by stratagem and duplicity the attainment of an object, which though partly conceded through favour, yet was withheld as a right; and in either case would appear quite inconsistent with that uncompromising fearlessness and acknowledged integrity, that signalized the Dutch character at this era of its history. The course which the States-General adopted, in respect to the country, will be exhibited as open and unequivocal in the year

is silent. So Purchas in 1625—Harris in his *Collection of Voyages*, II. 839, 851, and other early writers. Governor Bradford of New Plymouth in 1627, alludes to Argall's expedition in his correspondence with the Dutch governor, warns him to avoid the Virginia ships, but does not pretend to any knowledge of this supposed prior conquest over the Dutch. (See his *Letter Book*. Mass. Hist. Collections, III. 51, &c.)

* *Staat-en-Eylandt*. The Indian name was Aquehonga Manacknong. *Book of Patents*, vol. iv. in the office of the Secretary of State of N. York.

† See Holmes' *Annals*, I. 182, and authorities cited by him. Belknap in (*Life of Hudson*) *American Biography*.

1621. The question of title had not, probably, been agitated, either at the Hague or at London, and notwithstanding all the fabrications which the interested invented, the subject of them was, in all probability, a matter of indifference if not of ignorance, both to Prince Maurice and King James, or to their respective cabinets. The strife, if any, existed among their subjects; and the new world was left to the enterprise and industry of private adventurers.

The English however are entitled to the credit of having been the first to attempt to found a *Colony* on or near the Hudson, but failing in this design, they became distinguished as the founders of New England. The protestant non-conformists or puritans in England, under the Reverend John Robinson, persecuted in common with other dissenters, took refuge in Holland. They first sojourned in Amsterdam, and in the year of Hudson's discovery, removed to Leyden. Here they repaid the hospitality of their adopted country by strict obedience to laws and respect for political institutions to which they had not been accustomed, and while they thereby secured those personal privileges which rendered Holland so favoured a land, they enjoyed the fruits of an exemplary private life, in the kindness and good will of the community. No dissatisfaction therefore from any limitation of privileges, from any defect of public protection, or absence of private esteem influenced the determination which they formed to cross the Atlantic. They were Englishmen, whose national pride and prejudices—whose attachment to the institutions, language, customs, and manners of their native country, could not be extinguished because they had been driven thence by the intolerance of its hierarchy. The elder members of the church were one after another gathered to their fathers, the younger were inter-marrying with Dutch families, and all were gradually losing something of their national identity. Besides, Holland was a nation of heroes; war had become their pastime—and the interval of tranquillity which was almost terminated, was a period of busy and welcome preparation for a vigorous renewal of the contest. Though the puritans were exempt from the effects of that spirit of persecution which,

upon the retrenchment by the States-General of their system of universal toleration, attacked the Remonstrants and Romanists, yet they were extremely anxious to preserve the doctrine and discipline of their church from all innovations, and the morals of the congregation from the contamination of prevalent licentiousness. As early as 1617, a portion of the congregation thought seriously of removing to Guiana or Virginia. The Hollanders urged them to go to the Hudson and settle under the Amsterdam trading company: where they would have been far safer in amity and alliance with the five nations, than in Virginia, exposed to the jealousy, or at least insecure in the doubtful and suspected friendship of Powhatan. They delayed their plan three years, and then concluded to go to the Hudson. But Providence, controlling and inscrutable in the mystery of its dispensations, was preparing for them, even in 1617, an abode which they never contemplated. The devastation of one people was making way for the reception of another. A spot in the wilderness of the new world was, for wise and beneficent purposes, to receive the choice population of Europe. In New England were these chosen people to display their patience—preserve their religion, disseminate it, and found an empire of civilization and Christianity. In 1620, a part of Mr. Robinson's church resolved to remove. They converted their property into common stock, purchased one ship, freighted another, and taking an affectionate farewell of their pastor, who held out to them the hope of soon following with the rest of the congregation, they departed from Holland, and by the way of England sailed for the Hudson river. They encountered storms, and were driven back. They resumed their voyage, and in November arrived upon the coast which Hudson had named New-Holland. They now consulted with Captain Jones who had contracted to take them to the Hudson, and accordingly altered the direction of their ship. The next day they found themselves among breakers and shoals; another violent tempest arose, the season was considered too late and the coast too dangerous for them to persevere; wherefore they returned to Cape Cod, and after some further search in its

vicinity, selected a spot whereon they laid the foundation of New Plymouth, and the first effectual colonization of New England.*

* One of the earliest and impartial authorities, to support the assertion that the Pilgrims designed to proceed to Hudson river, is Thomas Dudley, deputy governor under governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who arrived only ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims. In a letter "To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bridget Countess of Lincoln," dated Boston, March 1631, and published in a small pamphlet, entitled "Massachusetts, or the first planters of New England:—the *end* and *manner* of their coming thither, and abode there: in several epistles. Boston in New-England. Printed 1696." Dudley informs her ladyship, that "concerning the English that are planted here: I find that about the year 1620, certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their course for *Hudson's* river. These being much weather-beaten, and wearied with seeking the river, after a most tedious voyage, arrived at length in a small bay lying north-east from *Cape Cod*; where landing about the month of December, by the favour of a calm winter, such as was never seen here since, began to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called New-Plymouth: where, after much sickness, famine, poverty, and great mortality, (through all which God, by an unwonted Providence) carried them) they are now grown up to a people, healthful, wealthy, politic and religious."

Nathaniel Morton, "an approved godly man, one of the first planters," and afterwards "Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth," asserts in his "New-England Memorial, or account of the first planters," published in 1669, that after they had been driven by storms to return to England, (whither they proceeded after leaving Holland,) they at last came to Cape Cod, when, after some deliberation with the master, they tacked southward "to find some place about Hudson's river (according to our first intentions;)" but they had not sailed that course more than half a day, when they "fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and became so entangled and the wind shrinking, we turned back and reached the Cape next day, being November 1620." But although they had put in here partly on account of a storm, yet the principal cause, says Morton, of their coming here was the fraudulent conduct of Captain Jones, "for our intention and his engagement was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of our intentions, and having thoughts of erecting a plantation there likewise, fraudulently hired Jones, by delays while in England, and now under pretence of the dangers of the shoals," &c. to disappoint them in their going thither. "*Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence: but God out-shoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow, for had we gone to Hudson's river, as be-*

Their original design towards the Hudson was not to disturb the Dutch in their possessions: the pacific tendency of their character would render a contrary suggestion revolting and incredible. They did not intend to mingle with the

fore expressed, it had proved very dangerous to us on account of the multitude of pernicious savages, whereas the place where we came had been depopulated by a great mortality among the natives, two years before our arrival," &c. Morton's Memorial, p. 15, 16. See History of the Puritans, or Protestant non-conformists, &c. by Daniel Neal, M. A. London, 1744. See also, Prince's New England Chronology, p. 83, 84: Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. II. p. 405, 406, 407 in Appendix; vol. I. p. 11: Holmes' Annals, vol. I. p. 162, 253, N. (2): Massachusetts Hist. (N. S.) Collect. III. 89. Mr. Morton published this statement, as the title of his book imports, "for the use and benefit of present and future generations;" yet the fact should be borne in mind, that the date of the publication was five years only after the conquest of New Netherland by the English; and while this event, and the question of right and title between the Dutch and English, and the prior encroachments of the *Plimothians* (as Dudley calls the Pilgrims) on Connecticut river and Long Island, called forth many violent and contradictory statements. It was at least due to the Dutch character, and to the reputation of the captain who had safely brought over the pilgrims, to have given names, dates, and circumstantial proof, or at least the source of his authority, when a charge of this description was hazarded. It may safely be placed in rank with that class of errors originating sometimes from design and sometimes from mistake, which grew out of the controversy between the English and Dutch, respecting the first discovery and settlement and title to New Netherland, and the quarrels with the New England people as to its limits. "For admitting (as Abm. Yates says in a letter to Dr. Morse, in 1793, now in the MSS. of the New-York Historical Society) that was their serious intention, (to set up a government and make a settlement under the Virginia company on Hudson's river) will it not then follow that they intended to commence their settlement in dispute and quarrel? When there was abundant room east and south of the Dutch, and the example of Abraham and Lot staring them in the face, and that without a colour of reason to men of sense (for such they were.) They confessed that when they were in Holland they were kindly used, and that when it became public that they intended for America, the Dutch laboured to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West India company. If they had accepted the offer, their civil and religious liberties would have been equally secure, at least the difference was not worth quarrelling about. The Orange family formerly were not more dangerous in Holland than the Stuarts in England. Being both Calvinists, there was no difference in their religion, other than in res-

Dutch and reside under their government, for they left Holland to preserve their national identity, and had obtained through their agent in England, from the Plymouth Company or the English government, the promise of a patent which they received the year after the revocation of the Plymouth patent in 1620, and the grant of that which formed the civil basis of all others in New England. Their plan, as developed by one of the pilgrims, was "to find a place for their colony about Hudson's river," to become neighbours adjoining the Dutch, and therefore they had it in contemplation to locate themselves between the Hudson and the Connecticut river, or between the river of the Red Mountain,* and the Manhattan. The story related by one of the pilgrims,† of a plot contrived by the Dutch and abetted by captain Jones, to delay the departure of the congregation till late in the season, and then under pretence of shoals and dangers to take them a distance from the Dutch settlement, is one of those idle tales which the warmth of a controverted claim to the country, and the strength of confirmed prejudices might engender among men of character even more unexceptionable than that of the excellent fathers of New England. When they crossed the Atlantic, navigators generally were ignorant of the coast and its dangers, and the rage of the elements is at all times beyond the control of the most skilful. The Dutch had now undoubtedly a design of planting a settlement more numerous, more

pect to human inventions, which gave rise to the reflection that the one in its operation gave too great a tone to licentiousness, and the other to superstition. With respect further to the persecutions and emigrations, particularly of the Puritans in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, Charles, &c. see Abbe Raynal's *British Settlements in America*, vol. I. ; *Account of European Settlements in America*, vol. II. ; *Wagenaar Beschryv. van Amsterdam* ; *Lambrechtsen's Kort Beschryvinge*, &c. ; *Robertson's America* ; *Hazard's Collections*, vol. I. *Extracts from Plymouth Records* ; *Bozman's Maryland*, sec. VIII. and IX. ; *Lady Morgan's Salvator Rosa*, vol. I. p. 353, &c.

* Housatunnuk. In *l'Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. XXI. 230-1, it is said "the Puritans who went to New England, had proposed to themselves to choose for their plantation the land which is between Connecticut and Hudson's river, near the county of Fairfield."

† Morton. See note p. 354.

powerful, and more permanent than had hitherto been contemplated ; but this was to be effected under auspices far too formidable, to admit the necessity of resorting to any puny device to remove from them a few inoffensive men, whom they had repeatedly urged to settle with them upon the Hudson. The Dutch were projecting the formation of one great national society, which should merge into itself the Amsterdam Licensed Trading Company, and all its rights to the trade or territory of the new world ; be able by its power and resources to establish fortifications and settlements on a stronger and more enlarged basis—prosecute commerce in a more comprehensive and systematic manner—and particularly aid the republic in protecting its interests from piracy, and in conducting the war against Spain with energy and effect. The two last mentioned objects involved the principal causes of the foundation of the celebrated privileged West Indian Company of the United Netherlands.

CHAPTER III.

1621 to 1623. The past armistice and impending war—involving the causes of the organization of the Privileged West-Indian Company. When founded. Its principal features as important to be noticed in this History. The commencement of the operations of the Company—Its attention towards the Great river. Capt. Mey's voyage. The actual and relative condition of the settlers on Manhattan. The arrival of the first ship of the West-Indian Company. The name of New Belgium, &c. bestowed on the country—Its limits. Local names. First settlement on South river. Fort Nassau. Fort Amsterdam. Fort Orange, &c.

DURING the past twelve years truce, the confidence inspired by this interval of tranquillity, cherished the commercial genius of the people, while the dismantling of ships of war multiplied the temptations to piracy by diminishing the power of protecting commerce, and throwing out of public employ a multitude of necessitous seamen. Many who had faithfully served under the banner of the republic, followed now in the same inglorious career which rendered the expelled Moors from Spain so formidable to commercial Europe. The United Provinces in vain exhorted England and France to co-operate in exterminating piracy. The former, more interested on the seas than all other European powers, were therefore the greatest sufferers. The States-General ordered their admiralty to send out ships almost every year, from 1614 to 1621, but the mischief, nevertheless, augmented until it became insufferable.* The absolute necessity of a more concentric union of individual co-operation with national strength, in order to diminish, if not entirely to suppress this evil, was, therefore, one cause of the creation of the West-Indian Company, as is evident from the preamble to its charter. But, as appears from its principal provisions and

* Such was the frequency of piracies (*according to De Witt*, part 2, chap. I.) that the Algerines, in 1620 and 1621, within thirteen months, captured ships of Holland alone, 143 sail: Amsterdam computed its loss at 124 tons of gold, and the whole was estimated at 300 tons of gold!

the operations of the company, the main cause was founded in the policy of the States to secure the energetic prosecution of the impending war.

The year 1621 was the era of the establishment of this great national society. The grant from their High Mightinesses the States-General, was dated the third day of June 1621,* and contained forty-five articles. The component parts of the company, the immunities secured by the charter, the general nature and specific powers of the incorporated government exerciseable within the local, as well as throughout the transatlantic sphere of its activity, were the general features in the organization of this society, which may be viewed as important to our history. From a view of these, it may be determined how far the States assumed the right or title to the country discovered by Hudson, and how far they granted, reserved, or participated in its enjoyment.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces and other countries might become members.† The States-General were not only parties to the charter, but members, and, like others, were to advance funds, participate in profit and loss, and be represented in the direction;‡ but no members could withdraw

* Chalmers says, in his *Political Annals*, &c. Lond. 1780, p. 569, (he cites *Corps Diplomatique*, 5 v. 2d part, p. 363, and Leonard) that this famous company was established in June 1620. So Ogilby's *History of America* 1672; Douglass' *Summary*, and Oldmixon in his *British Empire in America*, p. 118—(all, except Chalmers, very loose and doubtful authorities.)

But see the grant itself, or "Octroy By de Hooge Moghende Heeren Staten Generael, verleent aen de West-Indische Compagnie, in date den derden Juny 1621; in the "Placaet Boek," I. 566, &c.; in "Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael van de verrichtinghen der geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie," &c. door Joannes de Laet Bewint-hebber der selver compagnie tot Leyden, anno 1644; in "Zaken van Staet en Oorlogh In, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden Door de Heer Lieuwe van Aitzema, in 'S Graven-Haghe," 1670; and see a translated copy of the grant in Hazard's *Collections*, vol. I. 121.

† Charter. Article xxiv.

‡ Art. xxix. xlii. xl. xviii.

themselves or their funds during the time of the grant,* nor any new members admitted after the period therein specified.†

For the term of twenty-four years, “no natives or inhabitants of these countries, unless in the name or by permission of this United Company of these United Netherlands, should sail or traffic to or on the coast and countries of *Africa*, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor in the countries of *America* or the *West-Indies*, beginning at the south end of Terra Nova by the streights of Magellan, La Maire, or any other streights and passages thereabouts, to the streights of Anian, as well on the north sea as the south sea, nor on any islands situate on the one side or the other, or between both; nor in the western or southern countries between both the meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the east, to the east end of New Guinea, in the west, inclusive; and whoever should presume to sail or traffic in any of the places within the aforesaid limits granted to this company, should forfeit the ships and goods there found for sale, which being actually seized by the company, should be kept for their own benefit.”‡

The States engaged to defend the company against every person in the freedom of navigation and traffic within those limits, and assist them with a million of guilders.§ They delegated the prerogative of resolving on peace or war||—and if the company should be driven to hostilities by any violent and continued interruption to their commerce, the States engaged to assist with sixteen ships of war—the least of the burden of three hundred tons,¶ with four yachts—the least of eighty tons, all armed and equipped; to be supported at the expense of the company, and commanded by an admiral appointed with their advice by the States, to act in obedience to their mutual commands and resolutions.** But the company were to supply, unconditionally, sixteen ships and four-

* Twenty-four years;—but at the end of that term the charter was renewed.

† Art. xvii.

‡ Art. i.

§ Art. xxix.

|| Art. xix.

¶ “150 lasts.”

** Art. xl.

teen yachts of like tonnage, 'for the defence of trade and all exploits of war,' which, with all merchant vessels, was to be commanded by an admiral appointed and instructed as above.*

The government of the company was vested in five chambers or departments of managers or directors. The chamber of Amsterdam having the direction of four ninth parts, was represented by twenty directors : that of Zealand, two ninths, by twelve directors : that of Maeze, of North Holland, of Friesland with the city and country,† each one ninth, and each by fourteen directors : provinces and cities without chambers might have as many directors divided among them, as they should be entitled to by the respective deposits of one hundred thousand guilders in the funds.‡

All general meetings of chambers were composed of an assembly of nineteen directors, eight of the department Amsterdam, four of Zealand, two of each of the other chambers : the nineteenth director represented the States-General, who might depute an additional number if they should deem it advisable, "to assist in directing the meetings of the company."§ This college or assembly of the nineteen were to manage, and finally settle all the business of the company, excepting when 'resolving on war they should ask the approbation of the States.'||

The company might enter into 'contracts and alliances with the princes and natives of the land ;' and were obligated to advance the settlement, encourage population, and 'do all that the service of those fruitful countries and the profits and increase of trade would require.'¶ To protect their

* Art. xl. As to prizes, see art. xlii.—The States received one tenth, after paying the admiral, one tenth to officers and soldiers and all expenses of troops, fortifications, &c.

† *Stadt en Lande.*

‡ Art. xi. xii. and the amplification of the charter in Feb. 1643. By art. xiii. each director of Amsterdam should have interest of 6000 guilders, and each of the others, 4000. As to commission to directors, see art. xxviii-ix.

§ Art. xviii.

|| Art. xix.

¶ Art. ii. iii.

trade and possessions, they might erect and garrison forts and fortifications. To distribute justice, preserve order, maintain police, and administer the general, civil, and military government of their transmarine affairs, they might appoint a governor in chief or director-general, commanders and all officers civil and military, judicial and executive—who should take an oath of allegiance to the States as well as to the company.* But having chosen a governor in chief and prepared instructions, he was to be commissioned and his instructions approved by the States.†

The charter was amplified in some respects unimportant to notice, in June 1622 and February 1623. On the 20th June, 1623, the managers and principal adventurers adopted articles, approved by the States, of internal regulation, and the same year closed their books of subscription.

During the interim, the Greenland company was created, (1622) and the charter of the East-India company renewed, (1623.) Thus the northern seas, Asia, Africa, and America, were partitioned to three armed associations, possessing powers nearly coextensive with those of the republic. The States-General, thus relieved from the unpopularity of forced means to protect commerce, had the unembarrassed direction of all land and naval operations ; the Greenland company was to defend the northern fisheries against any future molestation by England or Denmark ; the East-India company was to complete its magnificent empire in Asia ; and the great national society was to cherish and extend commerce, found colonies, crush piracy, and while it was to strike a blow fatal to the power and pride of the Spaniards and Portuguese in Africa and America, its daring enterprises were to signalise the names of the gallant heroes who should direct them, vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty, and reflect upon the United Provinces an imperishable glory.

* Art. ii. v. vi. xl.

† Art. ii.

The society did not commence operations until 1623.* One of its earliest objects of attention was the Great river, which had been visited during fourteen years, and occupied nine years. To continue possession of the country, designate its boundaries, and promote trade in peltry, a ship with some settlers and necessary materials and supplies for forts, houses, troops, and residents, sailed from Holland, under the command of *Kornelis Jacobse Mey*.† Never was the arrival of a vessel more anxiously desired. Two years had elapsed since the last ship departed from Manhattan. The licensed company having been merged in the general society, and the operations of this suspended by protracted preparation, the settlers had awaited in vain the return-ship for the customary supplies of necessaries from Holland. Their condition, therefore, became destitute. They had no communication with any American colonies, and if they possessed any knowledge of the existence and condition of the latter, they might have found objects of sympathy without the means of relief. Virginia had just suffered a massacre of four hundred men, women, and children. New-France, feeble and dispirited, trembled at its very gates upon a late irruption of the incensed Iroquois. New-Scotland,‡ recently patented to Sir William Alexander, had but one Scotch resident. Weston's colony in Massachusetts§ was saved from extermination through the vigilance of their more discreet and wary neighbours at Plymouth. These, though not excluded like the Dutch, from all intercourse with the parent country,|| were enfeebled and

* De Laet Beschryvingh, &c. b. iii. chap. 11. This is further evident from De Laet's History of the Company, which begins in 1623. *Historie ofte Jaerlyk Verhael van, &c. West-Indische Company, &c. Tot Leyden, 1644.*

† See note (159.)

‡ Nova Scotia.

§ Or, *Mais-Tchuscäg*, equivalent to the two Tartar words, *Mas-Tchudi*, that is, the *Country on this side of the hills*.

|| See Winslow's Journal 1623, or, Good News from New-England, (published in Purchas and in Mass. Hist. Collection, viii. 237.) See Christopher Levett's Voyage into New-England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. London, 1628.

wasted by sickness, dependent on the Indians for corn, and so recently settled in the country, that they believed New-England was like Old England, an island.*

Such was the condition of the North American colonies, and such the hopelessness of relief, had even the knowledge and means to seek it been possessed by the Dutch of Manhattan. Their friends were the Indians, whose magnanimity, when deserved, was seldom appealed to in vain; and whose hospitality, though sometimes ungratefully requited, was as free, if not unbounded, as the natural bounties of the waters, the air and the forests.† Secure in their friendship, the Dutch may have sometimes enjoyed in the calumet, the true nepenthe to dispel the loneliness and solitude of their weary hours; and if education and habit, parents of artificial necessities, had not rendered certain comforts and luxuries indispensable, they might have ranged the forest with the bounding elasticity of the natives, and robed in the simple garb of furs, have lived with them in contented forgetfulness of every artificial want, if not of every other country. But the Dutch had no thought of such an amalgamation. On the contrary, as we are informed,‡ some of those who had located on Staten Island, and often sailed thence in their little boats to visit their friends at Manhattan, were partly obliged, by the necessity of

* See the first sermon, &c. by Elder Cushman, in Hazzard's state papers, I. 147.

† "When you, (exclaimed an agrieved Indian Orator to the proposals of peace offered by Gov. Kieft) when you first arrived on our shores, you were sometimes in want of food. We gave you our beans and corn, and let you eat oysters and fish, and now for recompense you murdered our people." (He put down one little stick—this was one point of accusation.) "The men whom you in your first trips left here, to barter your goods till your return, were treated by us as we would have treated our eye-balls. We gave them our daughters to sleep with," &c. &c. De Vries' voyages, manuscript, in the Philadelphia manuscripts of the Library committee. Translated by Doct. G. Troost.

‡ "From Staten Island they went to Capsey, at the the old Battery at York, with little boats with sails, which afterwards served them for shirts, as the first shipping went back and was gone two years before they returned, which distressed the settlers exceedingly," &c. Tradition by Judge Mersereau. N. Y. Hist. MSS. Dr. Miller.

converting their sails into wearing apparel, and partly induced by the sympathy which in solitude and destitution endears the social tie, to remove to that island. Here month after month passed away in alternate hope and disappointment, and they might have sometimes foreboded the fate of that early Virginian colony, which perished through the neglect of the parent country. But their fears, their hopes, and their disappointments were at last ended. The first ship of the West Indian company arrived—and conjectural history, without any extravagance of fancy, might say that the roar of the signal gun, and the blast of the trumpet, as they resounded along the broken shores and elevated summits of the Manhattan, were to its anxious occupants more grateful than ‘the gale of spring that sighs on the hunter’s ear, when he awakens from dreams of joy, and has heard the spirits of the hill.’

The name of New Belgium, or New Netherland,* now bestowed upon the country, indicated in some degree the opinion of its comparative equality to the United Netherlands, in climate, soil, and navigable facilities, or its superior adaptation for a Netherland colony. The name was intended to comprehend the country discovered by Hudson; and though its boundaries became involved in doubt and controversy, yet as

* It was so called about this time, for De Laet in 1625, describes it under the name of “*Nieuw Nederlandt*.” “*Nova Belgica sive Nieuw Nederlandt*,” is the title inscribed on Vander Donck’s map in his *Beschryvinge van Nieuw Nederlandt*, &c. and in Blauw’s Atlas. The inscription on the map in De Laet, (Latin edition 1633) is “*Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia*.” The next in 1638, appears under the same title in “*Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas or Geographick Description*,” &c. translated by Hexham. The first improved map of New Netherland, it is said, (by Du Simitiere in MS. notes in the Philadelphia Library) was by Nicolas J. Vischer, published in Amsterdam, entitled “*Novi Belgii novæ que Angliæ*,” &c. from which Vander Donck took his. The same with a few English names superadded, was copied by Ogilby in *History of America* 1671, in his map of New Netherland, New England, &c. inscribed “*Novi Belgii quod nunc Novi Jorck vocatur*,” &c. See also, Montanus, Dancker, Otters, Lambrechtsen, &c. from all which it appears that the limits of New Belgium were undefined, and consequently a fruitful source of controversy with neighbouring colonies, as will appear in the sequel.

apparently understood by the first director or governor, who will presently be mentioned, extended from the South river,* to the New Holland of the Dutch, or the Delaware to Cape Cod of the English. Hudson was certainly not the discoverer of this Cape, for Gosnold had named it seven years before. He discovered the bay of the South river, however, one year before Lord *De la War* saw it; and the various names which Dutch navigators afterwards gave to the coasts, bays and rivers, from the South Bay to New Holland, furnish presumptive proof that the Dutch were the earliest and most frequent visitors.

Upon the arrival of Captain Mey, with supplies and orders for erecting new fortifications, the bay of Manhattan was, in compliment to him, denominated *Port May*. This navigator, pursuing the track of Blok, appears to have examined the sea-board as far as the bays of Manomet† and Nassau,‡ and thence retrograding, judiciously selected for his own residence the fruitful banks of the *South river*§ as the finest part of New Netherland. The bay of that river, though usually denominated *South bay*,|| became known as New Port May,¶ its northern cape as Cape May, and its southern as Cornelius, from the name of that navigator. It is uncertain whether he settled here this year or the next, but fort Nassau was erected on this river (called also Nassau river) in 1623, and it is probable that he superintended its construction. The fort was on the eastern bank, at a point called *Tekâcho*,** a

* *Zuydt rivier*.

† Buzzard's Bay.

‡ Narraganset. Quere—Was Mey's ship the one which here went ashore in a storm, but was afterwards floated, to which Winslow in his *Journal* of this date, alluded? De Laet says Mey gave the name of Texel to the large island subsequently named Martha's Vineyard.

§ *Zuydt rivier*, also Nassau river, and afterwards Prince Hendrick's river. The English always called it the Delaware—the Swedes named it New Sweedland stream—the Indians Lennapewihittuck.

|| *Zuydt Baai*—the Delaware.

¶ *Nieuw Port Mey*.

** Gloucester Point. Acrelius *Nya Sverige*, Stockholm, 1759. *Ebelings Der Staat New-Jersey*, Hamburg. 1796.

few miles from *Kuequenaku*,* or the grove of the tall pine trees. The native residents of this fertile country, were the *Lenni Lenape* once numerous and formidable, but conquered in the beginning of this century by the five confederate nations, and compelled to submit to the humiliating condition of the female nation, or, in the figurative style of the Indians, to have their legs shortened, to be dressed in female apparel, to be adorned with ear-rings, to carry in one hand the calabash of oil and medicines, and hold in the other the seed corn and hoe.† With this people, whose national characteristic was that of peace-preservers, Captain Mey resided in uninterrupted harmony and mutual good will.‡

Two other forts were also commenced, if not finished this year—fort *New Amsterdam*§ and fort *Orange*|| The first was on the Manhattan, south of the original redoubt, upon an elevated and commanding spot, near the confluence of the two rivers.¶ It was a mere block house, surrounded with red cedar palisades.** It is said†† that it was built under the superintendence of Hendrick Christiaanse, the early pioneer of the settlement, whose authority terminated with the political extinguishment of the licensed trading company, and of whom we have no historical information after this period.‡‡

Either at this time, or when this fort was subsequently remodelled, an occurrence happened, which in the absence of established and well regulated government, may have been passed by with impunity if not overlooked with indifference,

* Sounded Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo, (John F. Watson, Esq. MSS.) the Indian name of Philadelphia.

† See the curious ceremony on this occasion, in the Supplemental History of the five nations.

‡ See Note 160.

§ *Tⁿ Fort Nieuw Amsterdam op de Manhattans.* See view.

|| *Tⁿ Fort Oranje*, or (as De Laet renders it) *Tⁿ Fort van Oragnien*.

¶ Directly south of the Bowling Green in New-York, on the side of the former government house.

** Many of these were dug up under the ruins of the old fort, in 1790-1, and led to this supposition of the materials of the original structure. John N. Abeel, MSS. of the N. Y. Hist. Society.

†† By Lambrechtsen, Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandt, &c. Sed qu?

‡‡ Note 161.

but which, from the implacable nature of Indian revenge, tended eventually to involve the colony in great calamities. An Indian was murdered by a lawless bandit, and robbed of his beavers. A youth, the nephew of the unfortunate victim, witnessed the murder, and resolved to take vengeance of the Dutch when he should arrive at years of manhood. This he did effectually, as will be seen hereafter.

Fort Orange, so named from respect to the Prince of Orange, was erected on the west bank of the Hudson, about four miles north of the redoubt built in 1617 at Nordtman's kill. The river was named *Mauritius*, in honour of Prince Maurice, and *North River** in contra-distinction to *South river*. The fort was on the bend† of the shore at Skaghneghtady,‡ It is supposed to have been originally constructed like Fort Amsterdam, and improved afterwards upon a similar, though less extensive model. It was surrounded by a moat, and mounted the same number of guns, which in 1614 had constituted the ordnance of Castle Island.

Jaques Elckens was here retained in command, by the West Indian Company, and succeeded Christiaan in authority as chief.§ The garrisons in forts Orange, Amsterdam and Nassau were each limited at first to a sergeant|| and his guard.¶

* *Noordt rivier*.

† Called *Fuyk*, i. e. *hoop* or *bow-net*. The house of Simeon De Witt, Esq. Surveyor General of the State of New-York, is upon the original site of the fort. Fuyk was the first name of the settlement around the fort, and Beaverwyck the second. *Renselaerwyck MSS.*

‡ (Albany) *Skaghneghtady* or *Schenectadea*.

§ Or, *Opper hoofdt*.

|| Or, *Wacht meester*.

¶ Some authors (Smith's New-York : Ebeling's Staats New-York : A short account of the first Settlement of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, by the English. London, 1735, &c.) have adopted an error in saying that another fort was this year erected on the Connecticut or Fresh river. (See under date of 1633.) As to the forts in 1623, see Dutch Records; Gov. Stuyvesant's letter to Boston, &c.; Representation of the Commons in New Netherland, 1650, quoted in Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandts, 1662. 4to. Hague, (a manuscript translation of the last very scarce work is in the hands of the author, through the favour of Joseph P. Norris, Esq. Philadelphia); Rev. John N. Abeel's MS. Notes in MSS. of N. Y. Hist. Society; De Laet, Lambrechtsen, Neal's Hist. of New England, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

From 1623 to 1629. The first Governor and his officers. First emigrants. Waaloons. Settlement of Wal-bocht. First child born in New Netherland. Policy of West India Company. Slow progress of the Colony; exports from it. Slaves introduced. Reflections. Policy of the Company; their success; their imports to New Netherland; its trade and articles of Indian traffic. New Plymouth. The first commercial treaty and intercourse between that Colony and New Netherland; its benefits; the dependence of New Netherland upon the success of the West India Company; its famous capture of the silver fleet tends to the immediate colonization by the adoption of a charter of liberties and privileges, &c.

THE wisdom of these precautions, to secure the possession and trade of the country, was accompanied by the valour which was to ensure their stability. The West Indian Company in 1623 and 4 realized, by the capture of sixty-nine rich prizes from the public enemy, a reimbursement for all outfits, and additional means for the vigorous prosecution of their warlike and commercial operations. The college of XIX. assigned the management of the New Netherland commerce to the chamber of Amsterdam. This department now freighted two ships, in one of which arrived in New Netherland, its first Governor or Director, Peter Minuit.* Appointed by the college, sworn to the allegiance which was required by the charter to the company, instructed expressly or directed by the peculiar policy of his immediate principals, his administration was to be, what the names of his subordinate officers and the current of his affairs, evince it to have been, purely that of commercial government. As even this could not be conducted successfully without some local power, legislative, judicial and executive, the director and his officers of council, were to possess this power under the appellate supervision of their principals, whose immediate will, as expressed in their instructions, or declared in their marine and military ordinances, was to be the supreme law of New Netherland, excepting in cases not thus specifically pro-

* See note (162.)

vided for, when the imperial statutes of Charles V, the edicts, resolutions, and customs of the father-land, were to be received as the paramount rule of action.

The gradation of subordinate authority and rank were— 1st. *Oppper Koopman*, or *Oppper Commis**: 2. *Onder Koopman*, or *Onder commis*: 3. *Koopman* or *Commis*: 4. *Assisstant*. The duties of the Upper merchant, or chief commissary, combined under Governor Minuit, those also of book-keeper of monthly wages or secretary of New Netherland, and these offices were vested in Isaac de Razier, who is described by one of his contemporaries, as “a person of a fair and genteel behaviour.† He may have been of that class of French protestants, whose fathers fled from persecution and settled on the river Waal in Guelderland. The first emigrants under Minuit appear to have been from that famous province, and under the name of *Waaloons*, founded in 1625 the first permanent settlement beyond the immediate protection of the cannon of Fort Amsterdam. It is worthy of remark, that thus the first emigrants, and the majority of those who subsequently colonized New Netherland, came from that province, distinguished in the page of history, as the last that submitted to the Romans, and the first who threw off their yoke on the decline of the Roman empire.

The *Waaloons* settled on Long Island at a bend of the shore‡ opposite to Manhattan. They were the first who professionally pursued agriculture. Temporary locations for other purposes had been made at other places. But though the North river had been thoroughly examined, its courses,

* *Upper merchant*, or *chief commissary*, the words, as qualifying each other, explain themselves. *Koopman* literally is merchant, but it was here equivalent to a commissary for managing trade for others.

† Governor Bradford of New Plymouth in his letter book.

‡ *Wal-bocht*, near *Marechkawieck* (or Brooklyn). Some respectable writers render the name *Waaloon bend*. *Wal-bocht* is the name as given invariably in ancient Dutch records. (See Indian and Dutch maps and notes to this history.)

islands, and creeks designated, yet *Haverstroof*,* *Kleverack*,† *Kinderhoeck*,‡ and others, were merely topographical names. The limited extent of settlements, the age, single condition, and peculiar pursuits of those who had arrived previously to 1625, may be partly inferred from the fact, that in the month of June of that year, the first child of European parentage, was born in New Netherland.§

The West Indian Company may not have been entirely inattentive to that provision of their charter, which required them to people and consult the interests of these fertile regions; but in their policy, commerce was paramount, agriculture subordinate, and manufactures incongruous, except as the latter supplied New Netherland with the materials for domestic consumption and of profit to the company. Circumstances arising from the peculiar condition and character of the Hollanders, still operated to retard colonization, and very few persons except those employed and paid by the company, in a civil and military capacity, had been induced to settle in New Netherland. De Laet, an enterprising director of that company, attracted the attention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, by the publication this year, of his description of the New World.||

* Oat-straw.

† Clover-reach. See Introduction, § 50. p. 236.

‡ Children's-corner.

§ Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje, June 9th, 1625. (See family record in manuscripts of New-York Historical Society.) According to Judge Mersereau (MSS. N. Y. H. S.) Rapaelje had resided on Staten Island. He was the founder of Wal-bocht, and Sarah was the maternal ancestor of several families of Hansens and Bogerts. (See Furman's Brooklyn. Wood's first settlements of Long Island.) At the age of 31, she was a widow by the name of Sarah Forey, with seven children. Governor Stuyvesant and council, in consideration of her situation, and birth as the first child, granted the valley adjoining her patent. Dutch Records, letter P. or vol. xi. p. 332, in the office of Secretary of the State of New-York.

|| *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschryvinghe van West Indien, &c.* Door Joannes de Laet Tot Leyden, 1625. There was a second edition, and two others in French and Latin.

He described New Netherland as admirably fitted for colonization. "It is a fine and delightful land, full of fine trees and also vines—wine might be made there, and the grape cultivated. Nothing is wanted but cattle, and these might be easily transported. The industry of our people might make this the most pleasant and fruitful land. The forests contain excellent ship-timber, and several yachts and small vessels have been built there." But this commendable interest in behalf of New Netherland, was unavailing to accomplish its colonization, until certain circumstances combined to induce De Laet himself, Killiaen Van Renselaer, and a few other directors, to unite for that purpose. Meantime, Governor Minuit prosecuted the main object of his administration, during the first year of which, (1624) the exports from New Netherland were 4700 beaver and otter skins, valued at 27,125 guilders,* in return to the chamber of Amsterdam, for the imports in two ships the same year to the amount of 25,569 guilders.† The whole imports within the first four years, from 1624 to 1627, inclusive, were estimated at \$46,207, and exports at \$68,507.‡

* \$11,302 $8\frac{1}{4}$ cents.

† \$10,653 75 cents.

‡ The imports by the two ships in 1624 into New Netherland were, 25,569 guilders ;(a) in 1625, by several vessels, 8772 guilders ;(b) in 1626, in two ships, 20,384 guilders ;(c) and in 1627, by four ships, 56,170 guilders.(d) The exports of beavers and otters, from New Netherland to the West-Indian company department Amsterdam, the first year, were, 4700 beaver skins, valued at 27,125 guilders ;(e) the second year were 5758 skins, at 35,825 guilders ;(f) the third year, 8115 skins, at 45,050 guilders ;(g) the fourth year, in two separate shipments, 7520 beaver skins and 370 otters, at 56,420 guilders.(h)

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

		Dolls. Cts.		Dolls. Cts.
1624	(a)	10,653 50	(e)	11,301 $66\frac{1}{2}$
1625	(b)	3,655	(h)	14,926 $66\frac{1}{2}$
1626	(c)	8,493 $31\frac{1}{4}$	(i)	18,770 31
1627	(d)	23,404 $18\frac{1}{2}$	(k)	23,508 31
		<hr/> 46,206 $99\frac{3}{4}$		<hr/> 68,507 45

In four years the trade increased one half, and the revenue exceeded the public expenditure one third. The customary fifty per cent. on the invoice of imports might, perhaps, be balanced by cash advances for wages. But to the balance in favour of the company, we must superadd the expense or value of public structures :—the forts, the custom-house in Fort Orange, the governor's house within Fort Amsterdam, the magazine* for stores, and the private buildings for the officers, soldiers, servants, and slaves of the company.†

Slaves, thus early, constituted a portion of the population, and their introduction cannot be contemplated with apathy. It was one of those features in the infancy of the settlement, which became distinguishing—not because slaves had been excluded from all other North American colonies, for Virginia had them—but because the circumstance shows how reckless was the spirit of gain, which, with its pervading genius and comprehensive energy, tainted the life blood and controlled the destinies of New Netherland. The Dutch, it is true, were not the first who invaded the peace, or, for the sake of slaves, fomented the quarrels of Africa, nor the first who, while implanting the barbed arrow, whose wound was to fester for ages, transfused its poison into the moral atmosphere of the new world. But those foremost champions of the liberties of Europe in the seventeenth century, were the first who entailed upon the fair portion of the new world which forms the sub-

* *Packhuys*, or *Magazyn*.

† It seems, from allusions made in the Dutch records, that slaves were here in 1626. Probably they were here earlier—for it is said that a Dutch ship brought some slaves to Virginia in 1620, and they were, perhaps, in New Netherland, concomitant with its first settlement. This must have been the case, if the following extraordinary fact be true. An obituary appeared in the newspapers (A.D. 1739-40) of the death of a negro at Smithtown, Long Island, reputed to have been 140 years old, who had declared that he well remembered when there were but three houses in New-York. The reader will reflect upon the unexampled growth of a city, which, while this note is penned, (1826) contains some inhabitants in whose youthful days, one person at least, recollected the time when there were three houses only.

ject of these pages, that curse which has been justly execrated by the friends of humanity and all advocates for the rights of man throughout the world. Whatever difficulty there may be to remedy an evil, which, though daily visible and tangible, is hardly susceptible of a radical cure; yet in its inception and progress, when the mischief might have been grappled with in safety and success, there was, in its toleration, or rather in the conduct of its authors and abettors, a plain dereliction of the immutable principles of natural justice: principles which, whether on the coast of Labrador or Austral Asia—whether in Central Africa or Central Europe, sway the bosoms of men, and illustrate by their sovereignty and their development under various circumstances, an origin in abstract right, if not practical immutability. But the conduct of those who, while struggling to free themselves from the bigot and the tyrant, deliberately bound the chains which they had burst, around the defenceless and the unoffending, merits a tenfold execration. In such a case as this, the simultaneous example of other slave-trading nations, affords no apology. The enormity becomes aggravated by its hypocrisy: and no anomaly appears more detestable, than that of those, who, the moment they cease to be slaves, become tyrants.

To gratify the great national society of the Netherlands, armed and privileged in a glorious cause, the gold of Africa—the fur-trade of America—the monopoly of the commerce of the two continents—the liberal share, secured by charter, in the spoils of victory and conquest over the fleets and settlements of the national enemy, were all insufficient. The slave trade was superadded, and cupidity was allowed to batten on the miseries of an unfortunate race; while the banner which had enlisted the sympathies, and the valour which had elicited the admiration of the world, were tarnished by the atrocious traffic. But after all, what can be expected otherwise than the strangest and most criminal inconsistency, when in the noble cause of liberty, the most generous motives come in conflict with the most selfish. When freedom and religion are made the causes of war, and the love of gain sub-

servient to its prosecution, the purity and philanthropy of the former are polluted, if not extinguished, amid the rapine and rapacity of the latter.

New Netherland, born republican, might have been nurtured in free principles, made the healthy and vigorous representative of the parent republic, and the depository for transmission to posterity of that liberty which was to expire at home. The infant colony, might, at least, have been saved from the contamination which rendered profession a mockery in practice. The West-Indian company were amply remunerated for all expenses and care which they bestowed; and if magnanimity in policy had prevailed over the unstatesman-like maxims of gain and loss, they might have added to their renown, the celebrity of founding the first republic in the new world. But actuated by different views, and calculating, the progressive profits of trade only, they now determined, if we may judge from the amount of their last transshipment, to carry to a fuller extent the commercial strength and spirit of the colony.

Since their brilliant commencement, they suffered within the last two years, reverses and misfortunes from the pirates, the Dunkirk free-booters, and the public enemy. But in 1627, the capture of thirty of the enemy's ships, under the batteries of St. Salvador, by Admiral Peter Pietersen Heyn, after an unequal conflict on his part, in which skill was seconded by the most obstinate heroism, gave renewed vigour to the company. These prizes were richly laden with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and some gold and silver.*

Sugar, linens, cloths, and stuffs of various fabric formed a part of the imports into New Netherland. Its trade was with the natives, who, as far as in Quebec and Tadousac, brought furs to Fort Orange. But to this chief mart of the province, the five nations introduced the greatest supplies. Fort Amsterdam was still the head-quarters, where ships rendezvoused, and whence smaller vessels coasted the country from New-port-May to the Flat Corner.† But the above men-

* De Laet Hist. van West. In. Co.

† *De Vlack-hoeck*; the Dutch name for Cape Malabar.

tioned articles were unnecessary in the fur-trade, excepting cloth of a dark colour, suitable to the melancholy temperament of the Indians, who rejected fabrics in which the least whiteness in their texture was discoverable.* Cloth of this description, hoes, hatchets, awls, beads and other trinkets, looking glasses, Dutch trumpets in which the natives delighted, fire-arms, which originated a mischievous traffic with the Mohawks, were the articles for the Indian trade. The circulating medium was *seawan*.† This was manufactured

* Roger Williams' Key to the Indian language, Lond. 1643 ; reprinted in Massachusetts' Historical Collections.

† *Seawan*, was the name of Indian money, of which there were two kinds ; *wompam*, (which signifies *white*) and *suckauhock*, (*sucki* signifying *black*.) Wompam or wompampeague, or simply peague, was, though improperly, also understood among the Dutch and English, as expressive of the generic denomination. Wompam, or white money, was made of the stem or stock of the meteahock or periwinkle : suckauhock, or black money, was manufactured from the inside of the shell of the quahaug (*venus mercenaria*.) a round thick shell-fish, that buried itself but a little way in the sand, and was generally found lying on it in deep water, and gathered by rakes or by diving after it. The Indians broke off about half an inch of a purple colour of the inside, and converted it into beads. These, before the introduction of awls and thread, were bored with sharp stones, and strung upon sinews of beasts, and when interwoven to the breadth of the hand, more or less, were called a belt of *seawan* or *wompam*. A black bead, the size of a straw, about one third of an inch long, bored longitudinally and well polished, was the gold of the Indians, and always esteemed of twice the value of the white ; but either species, was considered by them of much more value than European coin. An Indian chief, to whom the value of a rix-dollar was explained by the first clergyman of Rensselaerwyck, laughed exceedingly to think the Dutch set so high a price upon a piece of iron, as he termed it. Three beads of black and six of white were equivalent, among the English, to a penny, and among the Dutch, to a stuyver. But with the latter, the equivalent number sometimes varied from three and six, to four and eight. One of Governor Minuit's successors, fixed by placard, the price of the 'good splendid *seawan* of Manhattan,' at four for a stuyver. A string of this money, one fathom long, varied in price from five shillings among the New Englanders, (after the Dutch gave them a knowledge of it) to four guilders, (\$1.66½) among the Dutch.(a) The process of trade was this : the Dutch and English sold for

(a) The prices of the fathom are related by Roger Williams and David Pietersen De Vries. They must have referred to an inferior quality, if we calculate the number of beads in a fathom, or the Indians sold by the fathom at a price much less than the Dutch and English had put upon the value of single beads or shells.

particularly by the Indians of *Seawan-hacky*,* and of this, as well as the first mentioned articles, the New Netherlanders

seawan, their knives, combs, scissors, needles, awls, looking-glasses, hatchets, hoes, guns, black cloth, and other articles of the Indian traffic, and with the seawan bought the furs, corn, and venison from the Indians on the seaboard, who also, with their shell money, bought such articles from Indians residing in the interior of the country. Thus by this circulating medium, a brisk commerce was carried on, not only between the white people and the Indians, but between different tribes among the latter. For the seawan was not only their money, but it was an ornament to their persons. It distinguished the rich from the poor, the proud from the humble. It was the tribute paid by the vanquished to those, the five nations for instance, who had exacted contribution. In the form of a belt, it was sent with all public messages, and preserved as a record of all public transactions between nations. If a message was sent without the belt, it was considered *an empty word*, unworthy of remembrance. If the belt was returned, it was a rejection of the offer or proffer accompanying it. If accepted, it was a confirmation, and strengthened friendships or effaced injuries. The belt, with appropriate figures worked in it, was also the record of domestic transactions. The confederation of the five nations, was thus recorded. The cockle shells had indeed more virtue amongst Indians, than pearls, gold, and silver had among Europeans. Seawan was the seal of a contract—the oath of fidelity. It satisfied murders, and all other injuries, purchased peace, and entered into the religious as well as civil ceremonies of the natives. A string of seawan was delivered by the orator in public council, at the close of every distinct proposition made to others, as a ratification of the truth and sincerity of what he said, and the white and black strings of seawan were tied by the pagan priest, around the neck of the white dog suspended to a pole, and offered as a sacrifice, to *T'halongh-yawaagon*, the upholder of the skies, the God of the five nations.

Roger Williams' Key. Hubbard's New-England, and Gookin. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book. Massachusetts' Historical Collections, I. 54, 152, V. 171, VIII. 192. Hopkins' Housatunnuk Indians, p. 4. Burnaby's Travels, p. 60. Duke de la Rochefaucault Liancourt, I. 180. Major (General) Washington's Journal of Expedition in 1754, p. 15-16. Charlevoix, Journal d'un Voyage, &c. Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, &c. Tom. III. Le Beau, Advantures, &c. Tom. I. Hennepin. La Hontan. Megapolensis, Kort Ontwerp, &c. (MS. Copy.) De Vries, Kort Hist. ende Journael, &c. (MS.) Red Jacket's Speeches. (MS.) Rev. Samuel Kirkland's Manuscript Journals. The description of the pagan ceremony of the offering, &c. which Dr. Kirkland witnessed among the Oneidas, will be found in the Supplemental History of the five nations.

* Long Island.

had on hand a surplus quantity. It is obvious, therefore, that for the purpose of vending these wares, a favourite policy of Governor Minuit was to ascertain a new market. His trading vessels had visited *Anchor-bay* and *Sloop-bay*, situate on each side of *Red-Island*,* ascended the river† flowing into the bay of Nassau,‡ and trafficked at *Sawaans* or *Puckanokick*, where *Massassowat*, the friend of the Plymouth people, held dominion. From him and other Indians the latter had often heard of the Dutch, and from the same source the Dutch had no doubt received intelligence of the English. But during the six years which had elapsed since the settlement of Plymouth, there had not been the least intercourse with New Netherland. This negative relation would have continued, if the commercial policy which has been suggested, had not now induced Governor Minuit to seek out New Plymouth, as the market which was most convenient to intercourse, most congenial in temper and circumstances, and, therefore, preferable to Virginia or Canada, for the purpose of establishing a treaty of commerce and amity. The people of Plymouth had a trading house at Manomet,§ but, comparatively unambitious, their commerce, fortifications, and strength of men, were, as was acknowledged|| by them, far inferior to those of New Netherland. Confined in their operations to the vicinity of the barren and lonely spot on which they had been cast, their little trade was indispensable, and they were aggrieved that the Dutch had encroached upon this trade, almost to their very doors. Having no transatlantic commerce, they, this year, (1627) sent an agent to England and Holland, to make arrangements for such supplies as their wants or commerce demanded.

Such was the relative situation of the two colonies when in March, Governor Minuit caused a deputation to the Governor and Council of Plymouth, with two letters, written in Dutch and French, dated at “Manhatas, in Fort Amster-

* *Roode Eylandt*, corrupted into Rhode Island.

† Taunton.

‡ Narraganset.

§ North side of Cape Cod.

|| By Governor Bradford, in his Letter Book.

dam, March 9th, 1627," (N. S.) signed, 'Isaac de Razier, secretary.' The Dutch Governor and Council congratulated the people of Plymouth on the success of their praise-worthy undertaking, proffered their 'good will and service in all friendly correspondency and good neighbourhood,' invited a reciprocity of amicable feeling, suggested for this purpose among other things 'the propinquity of their native countries, and their long continued friendship'—and concluded by desiring 'to fall into a way of some commerce and trade'—offering 'any of their goods that might be serviceable,' and declaring that they should feel themselves bound to accommodate and help 'their Plymouth neighbours with any wares that they should be pleased to deal for.*

The answer of Governor Bradford and Council was as follows :†

"To the Honourable and Worshipful the Director and Council of New Netherland, our very loving and worthy friends and Christian neighbours.

"The Governor and Council of Plymouth, in New-England, wish your Honours and Worships all happiness and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord in the world to come.

"We have received your letters wherein appeareth your good will and friendship towards us, but is expressed with over high titles, and more than belongs to us, or than is meet for us to receive : but for your good will and congratulation of our prosperity in this small beginning of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks do acknowledge the same, taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimony of your love and good-

* Extract from a manuscript history of Plimouth, communicated by Hon. Francis Baylies of Massachusetts. Prince's New England Annals, p. 172. Morton's New England Memorial, p. 91. Gov. Bradford's Letter Book, III. Mass. Historical Collections, p. 51. Hutchinson, II. App.

"To which (says Morton, secretary of Plimouth) the Governor and Council of Plimouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighbourhood in general, and particularly for commerce."

† Dated March 19, 1627. The original was written in Dutch.

neighbourhood. Now these are further to give your Honours, Worships and Wisdoms to understand, that it is to us no small joy to hear, that it hath pleased God to move his Majesty's heart, not only to confirm that ancient amity, alliance and friendship, and other contracts formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory, but hath himself, (as you say,) and we likewise have been informed, strengthened the same with a new union, the better to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now for as much as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood in all our dealings, yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day, for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever. Likewise, for your friendly proposition and offer to accommodate and help us with any commodities or merchandise which you have and we want, either for beaver, otters or other wares, is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time, we may have profitable commerce and trade together. But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England, to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them, (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence, namely, to expulse or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits, (without their special license and commission) which extends to forty degrees: yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Naragansett and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors. The which if you do, we think also no

other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

“May it please you further to understand, that for this year we are fully supplied with all necessities, both for clothing and other things; but it may so fall out, that hereafter we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable: and therefore, when your people come again, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound, and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent. for other commodities, and what you can furnish us with; as likewise what commodities from us may be acceptable with you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give.

“Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part, because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand, nor happily understand every thing so fully as we should: and so we humbly pray the Lord, for his mercy’s sake, that he will take both us and our native countries, into his holy protection and defence. Amen.

“By the Governor and Council, your Honours’ and Worships’ very good friends and neighbours.”

In August, Governor Minuit and council sent another deputy,* and in reply, insisted upon their right to trade to the places which Governor Bradford and council had interdicted, that, “as the English claimed authority under the King of England, so we, (the Dutch) derive ours from the states of Holland, and will defend it.” The letter was in other respects very friendly, and, as if to preclude any interruption to the harmony of their projected intercourse, the messenger was charged with a present of “a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses,” for which many thanks were returned in the answer by Governor Bradford: he also requested that a deputy might be sent to confer respecting their future trade and commerce, and with the most friendly zeal cautioned the

* Jan Jacobsen Van Wiring, (John the son of Jacob of Wiring.)

Dutch to avoid the Virginia ships or fishing vessels, which might make prize of them, as they had a few years previously, of a French colony that had intruded within their limits :* apprised them of the patents of Queen Elizabeth, and advised them to solicit the States General, to negotiate with England for an amicable understanding upon the subject. Governor Bradford communicated copies of the correspondence to the council for New-England, and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, requesting advice. But now, as if apprehensive lest the contemplated intimacy with the New Netherlanders, might give plausibility to their local pretensions, he wrote again to Governor Minuit in October, that he should suspend a decision on the question of trade, till the Plymouth agent should return from England and Holland, whither he had been sent to make arrangements, before it was ascertained that supplies could be obtained from the Dutch. He again advised them to adjust their title to a settlement "in these parts" lest in these "stirring evil times," it should become a source of contention.

But before the reception of the last letter, Secretary Razier, actuated by the prior communication of Governor Bradford, resolved, with the approbation of the Governor and council, to be himself the bearer of an embassy to Plymouth. In the bark Nassau, freighted with a few articles for traffic, manned with a retinue of soldiers and trumpeters, conformable to the fashion of the day, and proportional to the dignity of his station, this second officer of the government, departed on an embassy, which was as important in the primitive affairs of New Netherland and New Plymouth, as any of the magnificent embassies of the old world were to full-grown kingdoms.†

* In allusion to Argall's expedition against Port Royal, see p. 348.

† In the language of a contemporary of Gov. Minuit and Gov. Bradford :—"If any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters, such may consider, that small things in the beginning of natural or politic bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown." Thomas Dudley, the first deputy governor of Massachusetts, in an epistle to

The reader's fancy will follow the bark through the East river,* into the great bay of the island of shells,† and as it boldly swept over the bay, or cautiously glided along its shores, skirted by thousands of wigwams,‡ he will picture the wild and joyful gesticulations of the Indians, as they gazed upon the fantastic arrangements of the little vessel, or listened to the deep notes of the trumpeters.

Arrived in safety at Manomet,§ the secretary despatched to Governor Bradford a letter,|| announcing his arrival, specifying the articles that comprised his cargo, and requesting some mode of conveyance to Plymouth. His request was

"my very good lady, the Lady Bridget Countess of Lincoln," dated Boston, 1631, and published in "Massachusetts, or the first Planters," &c. Boston, 1696, p. 22

* *Oost rivier*, called also *Helle Gadt rivier*.

† Long Island Sound.

‡ See Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, I. ch. 3.

§ North side of Cape Cod.

|| Addressed to "Monsieur Monseigneur, William Bradford, Gouverneur in Nieu Plemeuten.

"After the wishing of all good unto you, this serves to let you understand, that we have received your (acceptable) letters, dated the 14th of last month, by John Jacobson of Wiring, who besides, by word of mouth, hath reported unto us your kind and friendly entertainment of him: for which cause (by the good liking and approbation of the Director and Council) I am resolved to come myself in friendship to visit you, that we may by word of mouth friendly communicate of things together; as also to report unto you the good will and favour that the Honourable Lords of the authorised West Indian Company bear towards you; and to show our willingness of your good accommodation, have brought with me some cloth of three sorts and colours, and a chest of white sugar, as also some *seawan*, &c. not doubting but, if any of them may be serviceable unto you, we shall agree well enough about the prices thereof. Also, John Jacobson afore-said, hath told me that he came to you over land in six hours, but I have not gone so far this three or four years, wherefore I fear my feet will fail me; so I am constrained to entreat you to afford me the easiest means, that I may, with least weariness, come to congratulate with you: so leaving other things to the report of the bearer, shall herewith end; remembering my hearty salutations to yourself and friends, &c. From aboard the bark Nassau, the 4th of October, 1627, before Frenchman's point.

Your affectionate friend,

ISAAC DE RAZIER.

granted. A boat was sent to *Manonscusset*,* and Razier "honourably attended by a noise of trumpeters,"† was ushered into fort Plymouth. Here he was kindly entertained several days. The meeting was not merely one of commercial speculation and heartless formality. It was the first meeting, in the solitude of the new world, of the friendly colonists of two allied European nations. It was the joyful meeting of kindred as well as friends, for the wives and little ones of some of the pilgrims had also their birth-place in Holland. Though the rigid simplicity of puritan costume and manners, the simple salutation, for instance, of goodman and goody, were in direct opposition to the high-sounding titles, formal stateliness and warlike decorations of the Dutch, yet the very spirit of amity consecrated the intercourse upon this novel occasion.

When the Dutch departed, they were accompanied to Manomet by the Plymouth people, by whom articles of their merchandise were purchased, particularly the *seawan*, which was then introduced into New England, and became the medium of profitable trade with the Eastern Indians.‡ Such was the harmony of the first communication between the two colonies, that the Dutch offered their assistance against the French, if needed; urged their friends to abandon the barren spot on which fate had cast them, and remove to the fertile banks of the *Fresh river*.§ The adoption of this advice might have perpetuated that good feeling, which, though afterwards supplanted by contention and bitterness, was for

* On the south side of Cape Cod.

† Gov. Bradford's letter book.

§ *Versche rivier*—the Connecticut.

‡ Dr. Chalmers (*Political Annals*) says that Razier brought peltry and purchased corn. Hence it is inferred the Dutch had made little progress in agriculture. The conclusion is true, though the premises are not. It is doubtful whether Plymouth raised corn enough for domestic consumption. "But whatever were the honey in the mouth of that beast of trade, there was a deadly sting in the tail. For it is said they first brought our people to the knowledge of *wampampeag*; and the acquaintance therewith occasioned the Indians of these parts to learn the skill to make it, by which,

years the foundation of repeated intercourse and profitable commerce. The Dutch frequently went to Manomet, exchanged their linens and stuffs for tobacco, which trade was extremely advantageous to the people of Plymouth, until the Virginians found out the Dutch colony, and drove them from this market by underselling them in tobacco.*

The West Indian Company also enjoyed immediately the salutary fruits of this commercial interchange, for the year after it commenced, (viz. 1628) Governor Minit, without the necessity of any fresh imports that year, exported to the Amsterdam department more furs than at any other prior period.†

The earnestness of Governor Bradford and his Council, in advising the Dutch to clear up their right to settle in the land, evinces the light in which the former viewed that right, and their ignorance of any previous remonstrance upon the subject. It has, however, been affirmed that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the patentees of the New England charter of 1620, had remonstrated (in 1624) to King James, against the occupation of the Hudson, and that the States General, by their Ambassador, disclaimed it as merely a private undertaking of their West Indian Company.‡ It might admit inquiry

as by the exchange of money, they purchased store of artillery, both from the English, Dutch, and French, which hath proved a fatal business to those that were concerned in it. It seems the trade thereof was at first, by strict proclamation, prohibited by the king. ‘*Sed quid non mortalia pectora cogis—Auri sacra fames!*’ The love of money is the root of all evil,” &c. Hubbard. Hist. New Eng. Mass. Hist. col. V. 100.

* Mr. Baylies, extract. MS Hist. of Plymouth.

† Viz. 6951 beavers, 734 otters and other skins, valued at 61,075 guilders, or \$25,447 91½ cents.

‡ This is put about the period of the meeting of the English parliament, in February, 1624. See Belk. Biog. vol. I. 369–375. But the loose manner in which the complaint is told, without any authority cited, and particularly the reply which it is said the States made, viz. that if a settlement on the Hudson had been made it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the West Indies, are circumstances which throw a suspicion over the statement. The grant to the company extended as far north as Newfoundland. Perhaps this story is confounded with one of a similar kind in the time of Charles I.

whether the English charter, in its constructive application, embraced that river ; for though it extended nominally to the fortieth degree, it contained an exception in favour of the possession of any Christian prince or state. The Hollanders in 1620 had the possession. The policy of King James, not, perhaps, very liberal on this subject, was pacific, and he probably preferred that the river should be settled upon by the Dutch rather than by the Spaniards or French, both of whom claimed the country. He was, if we credit English statements, aware that the Dutch had begun a settlement, and, perhaps, he caused the proviso in the great charter, as a tacit acquiescence. If therefore the remonstrance was made, no efficient interposition was obtained, nor was any regard paid to it by the West Indian Company : their measures with respect to New Netherland were not to be overawed by remonstrance or varied by conflicting title, but proportioned to the success of their arms, consequently to the amplitude of their resources, and the adaptation of the province to a lucrative investment of capital. This year they achieved a victory over the enemy so decisive, so complete, so unexampled in the magnitude of its trophies and advantages, as not only to enrich the members of the company, but tend directly to the establishment of permanent colonization in New Netherland. In September (1628) Admiral and General Peter Pieterzen Heyn captured in the bay of Mautanzas a fleet of twenty vessels laden with silver, gold and other precious articles, valued at more than twelve millions of guilders.* This was the famous Spanish silver fleet. The company during this and the preceding year took one hundred and four prizes from the Spaniards and Portuguese. Profit had augmented to fifty per cent. The treasure now poured upon the bosom of the society was so infatuating, that the States General found it necessary to

* 5,000,000 dollars. De Laet (Hist. West In. Co book V.) says 11,509,524 guilders, exclusive of musk, ambergris, bezoar and other precious articles in great quantity, besides the cargoes of two galleons and one small prize.

interpose some rules of government over foreign conquests,* not leaving them to the arbitrary whim and caprice of the conquerors or naval commanders, and on the other hand found it not very difficult to persuade the company, to their own ruin ultimately, to turn their operations expressly for the advantage of the Republic, and commence a "prince-like instead of merchant-like war."† But at this particular crisis, the interposition of their High Mightinesses, for the benefit of transmarine conquests and colonies, accompanied by a decree, authorising the different departments of the company to appoint a council of nine persons, who should be entrusted with the management of the whole,‡ was the foundation of the appointment of commissioners over the affairs of New Netherland, and of the adoption by the college of XIX. of a charter of *Liberties and exemptions for patroons, masters and private individuals who should plant colonies in New Netherland, or import thither any neat cattle.* These privileges and exemptions were adopted in the spring of 1629, and recorded in the book of resolutions of the department of XIX.§

A knowledge of the provisions of this charter is not only necessary for understanding perfectly the civil basis on which the colony of New Netherland was erected, but the charter merits attention as an object of curious political speculation. It discloses the peculiar notions of an armed mercantile society with regard to colonization. While it secured the right of

* Lambrechtsen, Kort Verhael, &c.

† De Witt.

‡ Lambrechtsen, on authority of the great Placard Book—*Groot Placatboek*, II D. bl. 1235.

§ Lambrechtsen says they are to be found in the Notules of that department, March 10. 1628, (old style)—but in a deed from Gov. Kieft to Ex-Governor Van Twiller, in 1638, of a tobacco plantation at Sapokanickau, (Greenwich in the city of New-York), the date of the grant of the liberties and exemptions is cited to have been the 7th of June, 1629. Perhaps as they were not published till 1630, they underwent modifications after they were first adopted, previously to their being finally confirmed as a charter.

the Indians to the soil, and enjoined schools and churches, it scattered the seeds of servitude, slavery, and aristocracy. While it gave to freemen as much land as they could cultivate, and exempted colonists from taxation for ten years, it fettered agriculture by restricting commerce and prohibiting manufactures.

CHAPTER V.

*Charter of Liberties and Exemptions of 1629.**

Privileges and Exemptions for the Patroons, Masters, or Particular Persons who shall settle any Colony or bring cattle therein, in New Netherland, considered for the service of the General West-India Company in New Netherland, and for the advantage of the Patroons, Masters, and Particular Persons.†

I.

THAT such members of the said company, as may be inclined to settle any colony in New Netherland, shall be permitted, with the ships of this company going thither, to send three or four persons to inspect into the situation of the country, provided, that they with the officers and ship's company, swear to the instrument of conditions (*articles*) so far as they relate to them; and paying for provisions, and for passage, going and coming, six stuyvers§ per day: and such as desire to eat in the cabin, twelve stuyvers, and to be subordinate, and to give assistance like others, in cases offensive and defensive: and if any ships be taken from the enemy,

* Translated, New-York, 8th May 1762, by Abraham Lott, junior. Renselaerwyck MSS.

† The charter was published at Amsterdam the next year, with the following title prefixed:—

Vryheden by de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthien van de Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen | die eenighe Colonien in Nieuw-Nederlandt sullen planten. In het licht ghegheven, &c. &c. T' Amstelredam, Door Marten Jansz Brandt, &c. Anno 1633.

Liberties or Privileges, granted by the Assembly of Nineteen of the Authorized West-India Company, to all such as shall or may settle or plant any colony* in New Netherland. Published with a view to make known what profits and advantages result to colonists and their Patroons and Masters, as also to others, who settle colonies in New Netherland.

§ Twelve and a half cents.

* The word *Colony* here made use of in the Dutch, signifies as much as the word *Manor* in English; and so it does generally throughout these conditions.

they shall, *pro rata*, receive their proportions with the ship's company, each according to his quality; that is to say, that the colonists eating out of the cabin shall be rated with the sailors, and such as eat in the cabin with those of the companies' men as eat at table, and receive the lowest wages.

II.

Though in this respect, shall be preferred such persons who have first appeared, and desired the same from the company.

III.

That all such shall be acknowledged Patroons of New Netherland, who shall, within the space of four years, next after they have given notice to any of the chambers, (or colleges) of the company here, or to the commander or council there, undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old, one fourth part within one year, and within three years after the sending of the first, making together four years, the remainder to the full number of fifty persons, to be shipped from hence, on pain, in case of wilful neglect, of being deprived of the privileges obtained; but it is to be observed that the company reserve the island of the *Manhattes* to themselves.

IV.

That from the time that they make known the situation of the places, where they propose to settle colonies, they shall have the preference to all others, of the absolute property of such lands as they have there chosen; but in case the situation should afterwards not please them, or that they should have been mistaken as to the quality of the land, they may, after remonstrating the same to the commander and council there, be at liberty to choose another place.

V.

That the Patroons, by virtue of their power, shall and may be permitted, at such places as they shall settle their colonies, to extend their limits four miles* along the shore, that is on one side of a navigable river, or two miles* on each side of a

* Sixteen English miles.

† Eight English miles.

river, and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit. Provided and conditioned, that the company keep to themselves the lands lying and remaining between the limits of colonies, to dispose thereof, when, and at such time as they shall think proper, in such manner that no person shall be allowed to come within seven or eight miles* of them, without their consent; unless the situation of the land thereabout were such, that the commander and council for good reasons should order otherwise; always observing that the first occupiers are not to be prejudiced in the right they have obtained, other, than unless the service of the company should require it for the building of fortifications, or something of that sort; remaining, moreover, the command of each bay, river, or island, of the first settled colony, under the supreme jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the Staats General and the Company: but that on the next colony's being settled on the same river or island, they may, in conjunction with the first, appoint one or more council, in order to consider what may be necessary for the prosperity of the colonies on the said river and island.

VI.

That they shall for ever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof: as also the chief command, and lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as an eternal inheritance, without its ever devolving again to the company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed, with twenty guilders† per colony to be paid to this company, at their chamber here, or to their commander there, within a year and six weeks after the same happens; each at the chamber where he originally sailed from. And further, that no person or persons whatsoever, shall be privileged to fish and hunt, but the patroons, and such as they shall give liberty: and in case any one should in time prosper so much, as to found one or more cities, he shall have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there,

* 22 or 32 English miles. † A guilder was 20 stivers, or 3s. 4d. currency.

and to make use of the title of his colony, according to his pleasure, and to the quality of the persons.

VII.

That there shall likewise be granted to all Patroons who shall desire the same, *Venia Testandi*, or liberty to dispose of their aforesaid heritage, by testament.

VIII.

That the Patroons may, if they think proper, make use of all lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to them, for and during so long time as this company shall grant them to other Patroons or Particulars.

IX.

That those who shall send persons over to settle colonies, shall furnish them with proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made, or to be made by the assembly of nineteen, as well in the political as judicial government; which they shall be obliged first to lay before the directors of the respective colleges.

X.

That the Patroons and Colonists shall be privileged to send their people and effects thither, in ships belonging to the company, provided they take the oath and pay to the company for bringing over the people, as mentioned in the first article; and for freight of the goods five per cent. ready money, to be reckoned on the prime cost of the goods here: in which is, however, not to be included, such creatures and other implements as are necessary for the cultivation and improvement of the lands, which the company are to carry over without any reward, if there is room in their ships. But the Patroons shall, at their own expense, provide and make places for them, together with every thing necessary for the support of the creatures.

XI.

That in case it should not suit the company to send any ships, or that in those going there should be no room; then the said Patroons, after having communicated their intentions,

and after having obtained consent from the company in writing, may send their own ships or vessels thither ; provided, that in going and coming they go not out of their ordinary course ; giving security to the company for the same, and taking on board an assistant, to be victualled by the Patroons and paid his monthly wages by the company ; on pain of doing the contrary, of forfeiting all the right and property they have obtained to the colony.

XII.

That as it is the intention of the company to people the island of the *Manhattes* first, all fruits and wares shall, for the present, be brought there, that arise upon the north river, and lands laying thereabouts, before they may be sent elsewhere : excepting such as are from their nature unnecessary there, or such as cannot, without great loss to the owner thereof, be brought there. In which case the owners thereof shall be obliged to give timely notice in writing, of the difficulty attending the same to the company here, or the commander and council there, that the same may be remedied as the necessity thereof shall be found to require.

XIII.

That all the Patroons of colonies in New Netherland and of colonies on the island of *Manhattes*, shall be at liberty to sail and traffic all along the coast, from *Florida* to *Terra Neuf*, provided, that they do again return with all such goods as they shall get in trade, to the island of *Manhattes*, and pay five per cent. for recognition to the company, in order, if possible, that after the necessary inventory of the goods shipped be taken, the same may be sent hither. And if it should so happen that they could not return, by contrary streams or otherwise, they shall in such case not be permitted to bring such goods to any other place but to these dominions, in order that under the inspection of the directors of the place where they may arrive, they may be unladen, an inventory thereof made, and the aforesaid recognition of five per cent. paid to the company here, on pain, if they do the contrary, of the forfeiture of their goods so trafficked for, or the real value thereof.

XIV.

That in case of the ships of the Patroons, in going to, coming from, or sailing on the coast, from *Florida* to *Terra Neuf*, and no farther, without our grant should overpower any of the princes of the enemy, they shall be obliged to bring, or cause to be brought, such prince to the college of the place from whence they sailed out, in order to be rewarded by them: the company shall keep the one third part thereof, and the remaining two thirds shall belong to them, in consideration of the cost and risk they have been at, all according to the orders of the company.

XV.

That it shall also be free for the aforesaid Patroons, to traffic and trade all along the coast of New Netherland and places circumjacent, with such goods as are consumed there, and receive in return for them, all sorts of merchandises that may be had there, except beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry, which trade the company reserve to themselves. But the same shall be permitted at such places where the company have no factories, conditioned that such traders shall be obliged to bring all the peltry they can procure to the island of *Manhattes*, in case it be at any rate practicable, and there deliver to the director to be by him shipped hither, with the ships and goods; or if they should come here, without going there, then to give notice thereof to the company, that a proper account thereof may be taken, in order that they may pay to the company, one guilder for each merchantable otter and beaver skin; the property, risk, and all other charges, remaining on account of the Patroons or owners.

XVI.

That all coarse wares that the colonists of the Patroons there shall consume, such as pitch, tar, weed ashes, wood, grain, fish, salt, hearthstone, and such like things, shall be brought over in the company's ships at the rate of eighteen guilders per last,* four thousand weight to be accounted a last, and the company's ship's crew shall be obliged to wheel, and bring the salt on board, whereof ten lasts make a hundred. And in case of the want of ships, or room in the ships, they may

* \$7 50 for two tons.

in ships of their own order it over at their own cost, and enjoy in these dominions, such liberties and benefits as the company have granted : but that in either case they shall be obliged to pay, over and above the recognition of five per cent. eighteen guilders for each hundred of salt, that is carried over in the company's ships.

XVII.

That for all wares which are not mentioned in the foregoing article, and which are not carried by the last, there shall be paid one dollar for each hundred pounds weight, and for wines, brandy, verjuice, and vinegar, there shall be paid eighteen guilders per cask.

XVIII.

That the company promises the colonists of the Patroons, that they shall be free from customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions, for the space of ten years : and after the expiration of the said ten years, at the highest, with such customs as the goods are taxable with here for the present.

XIX.

That they will not take from the service of the Patroons any of their colonists, either man or woman, son or daughter, man servant or maid servant : and though any of them should desire the same, that they will not receive them, much less permit them to leave their Patroons, and enter into the service of another, unless on consent obtained from their Patroons in writing. And this for and during so many years as they are bound to their Patroons ; after the expiration whereof, it shall be in the power of the Patroons, to send hither all such colonists as will not continue in their service, and until then shall not enjoy their liberty. And all such colonists as shall leave the service of his Patroon, and enter into the service of another, or shall contrary to his contract leave his service ; we promise to do every thing in our power to apprehend and deliver the same into the hands of his Patroon, or attorney, that he may be proceeded against, according to the customs of this country, as occasion may require.

XX.

That from all judgments given by the courts of the Patroons for upwards of fifty guilders,* there may be an appeal to the company's commander and council in New Netherland.

XXI.

That touching such particular persons, who, on their own accounts, or others in the service of their masters here, (not enjoying the same privileges as the Patroons) shall be minded to go thither and settle; they shall, with the approbation of the director and council there, be at liberty to take up as much land, and take possession thereof, as they shall have ability properly to improve, and shall enjoy the same in full property, either for themselves or masters.

XXII.

That they shall have free liberty of hunting and fowling, as well by water as by land, generally and in public and private woods and rivers, about their colonies, according to the orders of the director and council.

XXIII.

That whosoever, whether colonists of Patroons, for their Patroons, or free persons for themselves, or other particulars for their masters, shall discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt ponds, they may take possession thereof, and begin to work on them in their own absolute property, to the exclusion of all others. And it is consented to, that the Patroons of colonists may send ships along the coast of New Netherland, on the cod fishery, and with the fish they catch to trade to Italy, or other neutral countries; paying in such case to the company for recognition, six guilders per last:† and if they should come with their lading hither, they shall be at liberty to proceed to Italy, though they shall not under pretext of this consent, or from the company, carry any goods there, on pain of arbitrary punishment: and it remaining in the breast of the company to put a supercargo on board of each ship as in the eleventh article.

XXIV.

That in case any of the colonists should by his industry

* \$20 83 $\frac{1}{3}$.

† Or, \$1 25 per ton.

and diligence, discover any minerals, precious stones, crystals, marbles, or such like, or any pearl fishery, the same shall be and remain the property of the Patroon or Patroons of such colony; giving and ordering the discoverer such premium as the Patroon shall beforehand have stipulated with such colonist by contract. And the Patroons shall be exempt from all recognition to the company for the term of eight years, and pay only for freight to bring them over, two per cent. and after the expiration of the aforesaid eight years for recognition and freight, the one eighth part of what the same may be worth here.

XXV.

That the company will take all the colonists as well free, as those that are in service, under their protection, and the same against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers, with the forces they have there, as much as in their power layeth to defend.

XXVI.

That whoever shall settle any colony out of the limits of the *Manhattes* Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon, and that they may extend or enlarge the limits of their colonies if they settle a proportionate number of colonists thereon.

XXVII.

That the Patroons and colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavour to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do, for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there.

XXVIII.

That the colonies that shall happen to lay on the respective rivers or islands (that is to say, each river or island for itself) shall be at liberty to appoint a deputy, who shall give information to the commander and council of that western quarter, of all things relating to his colony, and who are to further matters relating thereto, of which deputies there shall

be one altered, or changed, in every two years ; and all colonies shall be obliged, at least once in every twelve months, to make exact report of their colony and lands thereabout, to the commander and council there, in order to be transmitted hither.

XXIX.

That the colonists shall not be permitted to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, nor weave any other stuffs there, on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished.

XXX.

That the company will use their endeavours to supply the colonists with as many blacks, as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made ; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper.

XXXI.

The company promises to finish the fort on the island of the *Manhattes*, and to put it in a posture of defence without delay. And to get these privileges and exemptions approved and confirmed by their High Mightinesses, the Lords Staats General.

CHAPTER VI.

From 1629 to 1633. Commissioners of the affairs of New Netherland. Van Renselaer and others. Wouter Van Twiller delegated to proceed to New Netherland, where he acts *pro tempore* as Director General. Minuit not superseded. Exports and imports. Purchases of land for Lord Goodyn on the western side of New-port May, and for him and Lord Bloemaert, of Cape May; for Lord Pauuw, of Hoboken, Staten Island, &c.; for Lord Van Renselaer, of the land on the north and south sides of Fort Orange, on both sides of the river Mauritius. Colonies of Renselaerwyck, Pavonia, and Swan-valley founded. The company dissatisfied. The Directors unite for colonization. The contract and parties of association. Their first object to colonize the south river, to raise tobacco and grain, and fish for whales. De Vriez the founder of this colony, on the western banks of the Delaware; no other European here. Fort Nassau had been abandoned. The account of the settlement of New Sweden, as stated by some authors, erroneous. The history of that project; its suspension in consequence of the death of Gustavus Adolphus; its revival, and the causes and agents of it. The Dutch the first settlers, however, whence they derived their title. The English settle. The Dutch erect a pillar at Swan Valley. Causes of the destruction of the colony; the manner in which it was exterminated. De Vriez having been absent, now returns and concludes a treaty of peace. He and his second colonists remain four months only. Their adventures during the interim. Failing to obtain provisions for his colony, De Vriez makes the first visit to Virginia from New Netherland. He and his colonists depart the South river and stop at Manhattan. The second arrival of Wouter Van Twiller as Governor of New Netherland. Governor Minuit recalled and proceeds to Sweden. Van Twiller's officers. The progress of the colony, agriculture, commerce, &c. before Van Twiller's arrival. Causes that retarded its prosperity. Relations with New Plymouth, and the relative condition with New England. The commencement of the controversy between New England and New Netherland.

As the chamber of Amsterdam managed the trade to New Netherland, the Commissioners of its affairs were principally selected from the Lords Directors of that department. Samuel Goodyn, Samuel Bloemaert, Killiaen Van Renselaer, and Jan De Laet were of that number.

The liberality of the charter towards Patroons, the reputed advantages of New Netherland, and the flourishing condition of the finances of the company, determined those

commissioners, in connexion with the department which they represented, to send an agent to inspect the condition of the country, examine its public affairs, and superintend or direct for the benefit of individual directors, the purchase from the natives of some select tracts of land.

These appear to have been the motives and object of the delegation of Wouter Van Twiller of Niewer-Kerck, a clerk of the Amsterdam department, to proceed to New Netherland. Though it has generally been conceded, or asserted without contradiction, that he was *commissioned* as Director General, and arrived at Fort Amsterdam in June 1629, yet there is not sufficient authority for the assertion, and none for the common opinion that he was the first Director or Governor. He may have been invested by the college of XIX, through the intervention of the commissioners of IX., and department of Amsterdam, with powers tantamount to those of a *Director General*, or Governor in chief for the time being. Indeed this appears to have been the fact. But he took with him no superseders for Minuit, because he is named on record as *Director*, more than a year after the arrival of Van Twiller.* Moreover there cannot be assigned, from the state of Minuit's affairs at this time, any cause for the suspension of his authority. Commerce was prosperous and increasing: in return for the imports from the department of Amsterdam, amounting within the three years, from 1628 to 1630 inclusive, to 113,277 guilders,† the exports were 191,272 guilders.‡ If, as has been suggested, Van Twiller came "a wolf in sheep's clothing," he staid no longer than was necessary to examine the fold and mark his intended victims. Intrigue may have scattered the seeds of faction, and Van Twiller may have remained long enough to see them germinate. It is certain that factions about this time convulsed this infant colony; and perhaps this cause, combined

* Book of Dutch Patents, G. G. in the office of Secretary of State of New-York.

† \$ 47,198 72.

‡ \$ 79,696 66½.

with favouritism, and succeeded by mismanagement, may have accomplished the recall of Minuit, and the confirmation of Van Twiller, in undivided and established authority. Mean time let us retrograde in our history, and follow methodically the progress of events.

One of the three ships which the department sent over in 1629, visited the Indian village on the south-west corner of New-port May or Delaware Bay, and a purchase from the three chiefs of the tribe, was there made in behalf of *De Heer* Goodyn. This tract extended "from Cape *Hinloop*,"* to the mouth of the river," about thirty-two English miles,† and was two miles in breadth.

In May 1630, a purchase for Goodyn and Bloemaert was made, from nine resident chiefs, owners of Cape May, of the land at that cape, sixteen miles in length along the bay, and sixteen miles in breadth, containing sixty-four square miles.‡

In July the Director and council ex-officio, accepted a grant from the Indian proprietors, in behalf of Michael Pauuv

* So named in the patent. The name *Hinloopen* is supposed to have been derived from the name of a Holland navigator. "*De twee Kapen der Zuid-rivier zyn naar zekeren, waarschylyk Jelmer Hinlopen, (vergeelyk Scheltema Rusland en de Nederlanden, I. D. vol. 53.) en Kornelis Jakobse Mey, Kaap-Hinlopen en Kaap-Mey genoemd, en de West-Kaap der Noord-rivier Godins-punt.*" (Lambrechtsen.) *De Laet*, b. 3. ch. ii. says the northern Cape of Nieuw-port May, is called Cape May, the southern Cape Cornelius; 4 miles (16 English) southward of this lies Cape *Hinlopen*.

† Eight Dutch miles large measure. The deed was executed by three or the inhabitants of their village in behalf of the rest, viz. by *Querquakos*, *Esanques*, and *Siconesius*, bears date July 15, 1630, and recites the purchase made June 1st, 1629, in consideration of certain cargoes of goods received. The Director and council ex-officio, accept and confirm said sale in behalf of the much esteemed Mr. Samuel Goodyn, absent. This deed is the second on record in the office of the Secretary of State, recorded in the Dutch book of patents GG. translated by James Van Ingen, Esq.

‡ Equivalent to sixteen Dutch square miles. This purchase was made by Peter Heyser Skipper, of the ship *Whale*, and Gilles Coster, Commissary, and on 3d Jan. 1631, they appeared before the Director and council,

Heer van Achthienhoven,* of "*Hobocan Hackingh*, lying opposite the island *Manhatas*, and extending on the south side of *Ahasimus*, eastward the river *Mauritius*, and on the west side surrounded by a valley (marsh) and swamp, through which the limits were sufficiently distinguishable."

This was succeeded by the more important investiture in Lord Pauuw, of the title to "the *Staten Island* on the west shore of *Hamels hoofden*,"† and this by another of "*Ahasimus*, and the island *Aressick*, alias *Hoeren-hoeck*, stretching along the river *Mauritius* and island *Manhatas* on the east side, and the island *Hobokan Hackingh* on the north side, surrounded by marshes serving sufficiently for distinct boundaries."‡

In August, lands in the vicinity of Fort Orange, and on both sides of the river and intervening islands, were purchased for *De Heer Kiliaen Renselaer*. The Indian owners of the land immediately round Fort Orange, had hitherto refused to sell the same, but it was finally purchased for Van Renselaer, through the agency of the commissary at Fort Orange.§ The

(their ship then lying in Goodyn's Bay) and received a confirmation bearing the above date, of the purchase in behalf of their principals, Goodyn and Bloemaert. See the patent in the book of Dutch patents G. G. translated by James Van Ingen, Esq.

* Lord of Achthienhoven, one of the Directors of the West India Company.

† The narrows between Staten and Long Island. *Hamel* was the name of one of the Directors of the company: *hoofden* head land. The Dutch called the channel between Dover and Calais *De Hoofden*, because these two places point forward as a head land. Sewel's Great Dictionary, (Groote Woordenboek) Dutch and English. This deed is dated July 15, 1651. (Book G. G.) It recites that before us, the Director General and council, &c. personally appeared, Krahorat Tamecap, Totemakwemama, Sierarewack, Sackwewew, Wissipoack, Saheinsius, (or boy) inhabitants, owners, and heirs, of the land called by us the Staten Island, on the west shore of *Hamels hoofden*, and in consideration of certain parcels of goods, have sold, &c. to Michael Pauuw, (absent, and for whom we ex-officio accept the same under proper stipulation) the said lands, &c. promising, moreover, to maintain the same from free all claims, &c. as well against the aforesaid *Wissipocks heir* when arrived to years of manhood as others, &c.

‡ Dutch patents. Book G. G.

§ Sebastian Croll.

joint owners and granters of these lands, were *Kettemack*, *Nawanemitt*, *Albantzena*, *Sagiskaw*, and *Kanamack*. The whole purchase extended south and north from Fort Orange* nearly to Monemins Castle,† and on both sides of the river. But the land called *Semesseeck*, on the east shore opposite Castle Island to the aforesaid castle, had belonged in particular to *Nawanemitt*. *Petanoeh*, whose right was also bought, was the proprietor of the “land from the mill creek north to *Negagonse*, being about three dutch (or twelve English) miles large measure.” And four other Indian owners sold the “land called *Sanckhagag*,‡ south of Fort Orange, extending from the ground opposite Smacks Island, to a point a little north of *Beeren Island*,§ and two days travel into the country.” The ground opposite this on the east side of the river, and as far north as the ground opposite Castle Island, was bought a few years afterwards.||

These were the limits of the colony or manor of *Renselaerwyck*.¶ The compensation to the natives for all these purchases, was “certain cargoes or parcels of goods.”

The territory of *de Heer Pauuw*, was named by him *Pavonia*,** and that of *Goodyn*, *Swaenendael*.††

* Albany. See map of *Renselaerwyck*, prefixed.

† This was on a small island at the mouth of the Mohawk river.

‡ Coeyman's purchase, since so called.

§ Bears Island, since called Barren Island, about twelve miles south of Albany.

|| Indian Deeds to Van Renselaer, and Dutch patents, 1630-1, & 1637. *Renselaerwyck* manuscripts. Part of them are deposited among the MSS. of N. Y. Historical Society, and others have been loaned to the author by General Van Renselaer.

¶ See *Renselaerwyck* map, constructed on a small scale from the original parchment map of the ancient colony, in possession of its present proprietor, General Stephen Van Renselaer, and prefixed to this history.

** *Pavonia* is often mentioned in the Dutch records. It embraced the territory opposite Fort Amsterdam, now New Jersey. De Vriez says that *Pauuw*, having afterwards learned that the land around Fort Orange was appropriated by Van Renselaer, *Goodyn*, and others, immediately caused the place where the Indians met and crossed over with beavers to Fort Amsterdam, to be set down for himself, naming it *Pavonia*, or *Pavooniae*. Perhaps *Pauuwoonia*, was the true name which De Heer *Pauuw* gave.

†† Valley of Swans.

Thus three colonies, or plantations, were founded in New Netherland in 1630 ; but under circumstances not altogether calculated to conduce to its prosperity. After these extensive appropriations of the most eligible parts of the country in behalf of the directors, what inducements remained for the emigration of freemen ? What to incite enterprise or stimulate industry was left, when they were excluded from commerce, and forbade to spin or weave any cloth under the penalty of " being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished."*

Those purchases were made without any apparent preconcert or organized association among the directors. Vague as the description of boundaries appears, they did not originally transcend much the limits prescribed by the fifth article of the charter, and for a justification of subsequent excess, the Patroons relied upon the 26th article, allowing an extension of the limits of the respective colonies † Nevertheless, dissatisfaction was early manifested by the company, to whom the purchase of Pavonia was particularly displeasing, as this included the spot‡ where the Indians assembled to traffic in beavers, or to cross to Fort Amsterdam.

The directors who had effected the other purchases, deemed it policy to unite their interests, so far, at least, as to defray the expenses, and share the profits of colonization : and they also deemed it expedient to receive as co-partners some directors who had not been sufficiently vigilant to seize at an early period, the advantages proffered by the charter. This arrangement may have tended to allay some portion of the dissatisfaction, but it did not remove it entirely, nor prevent even the charter itself from being afterwards brought in question.

* See the charter. Art. XXIX.

† As appears from the correspondence between the Director of Rensselaerwyck and Governor Stuyvesant.

‡ Hoeren-hoeck, or Paulus-hoeck, so named from a person in the service of Pauw.

This contract of association was dated the 16th day of October, 1630.* The original parties were Samuel Goodyn, Kiliaen Van Rensalaer, Samuel Blomaert and Jan De Laet. Goodyn and Van Rensalaer were merchants of Amsterdam; the former was a director also of the Greenland company, and the latter one of the chief partners† of the West Indian company. The immediate design of their association was to colonize the South river. They offered the command of an expedition for this purpose to David Pietersen De Vries,‡ an experienced and enterprising navigator, who had just returned from the East Indies. Not being a Director of the company, he consented to act, provided that his advantages should be equal to those of any of the patroons. They also received as additional partners, Mathias Van Ceulen, Hendrick Hamel, Johan Van Harinck-houck and Nicolaes Van Settorigh, who were Directors of the company. Equalizing by the contract all advantages, they equipped a ship and yacht and destined them for the South river; the fruitful borders of which might, they believed, become as distinguished for agriculture, as the North river had been for commerce. The express object proposed, therefore, to be pursued by the colony, was the cultivation of tobacco and grain; but as whales and seals frequented those waters, this fishery was to become a concomitant object for immediate profits.§ Ac-

* Dutch records.

† *Hoof participant Bewint hebben.* De Laet Hist. West In. Co.

‡ De Vries's Voyages. He is sometimes referred to in the Dutch records under the name of David Pietersen and David Pietersen Van Hoorn.

§ Planting tobacco and raising grain were the colonial objects, says De Vries. "Goodyn being informed that whales were plenty in these regions, and fish oil being 60 guilders (§25) the hogshead, the vessel was laden with the utensils for this fishery, as well as planters, cattle, &c." Whales and seals were found in Port May, (or New-York bay) as well as New-Port May (or Delaware), according to Vander Donck and the Dutch records. Long Island, particularly, was formerly famous for the great number of whales and seals on its coasts; but whether the frequent fisheries, or any other cause of a like kind hath driven away these creatures,

cordingly, the vessels were laden with utensils for this fishery, as well as with agricultural implements, seeds and cattle, and between thirty and forty colonists embarked under command of Captain De Vries.

He left the Texel on the 12th December, (1630) and arrived at the South bay in the course of the winter. He entered within two leagues of Cape Cornelius, a deep creek, described as containing fertile islands and abounding with fine oysters.*

who generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, it is certain they have, in a great measure, disappeared. Russel's Hist. of Amer. II. 270; Gardiner (in MS. notes), and the Long Island entries confirm the fact of the great number of whales on Long Island shore.

* De Vries, in speaking of this location, in different parts of his voyages, first speaks of it under the name of the "kill," afterwards the colony "on Swaenendael, or the whore kreek," "at Swaenendael in the whore kreek," "at Swaenendael." The terms are used by De Vries as synonymous. He considered the creek as embraced by Swaenendael (Swans' dale or valley of swans.) In Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandtz, it is said that "the name Hoeren kill (or Harlot's creek, also called Sinknesse) had its rise from the liberality of the Indians, for lavishly prostituting, especially at that place, their maidens and daughters to our Netherlanders there. Otherwise, it is by David Pieters De Vries, who about the year 1630, first endeavoured to settle there, called Swaenendael." It is described in Kort Verh. &c. as being two leagues from Cape Cornelius, a fine navigable stream, filled with fine islands, good oysters, and bordered by ground exuberant in fertility, &c. (MS. translated copy of Kort Verhael.) Doct. Holmes (in Amer. Annals, I. 259) says that in 1630, one of the Swedes erected a fort at Hoar kill. He refers to Smith's New Jersey 22, but has mistaken De Vries for a Swede.

In "A short account of the first settlements of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania: London, 1735," p. 14, it is said that in 1630 the Dutch erected a fort near the entrance of a creek called the Hoor kill, about 3 leagues within the Capes of Delaware, on the west-shore, where *Lewestown* now stands, which place to this day is oftener called and better known by the name of Hoor kill, its Dutch name, than *Lewes*, which was given it by Mr. Penn, when he named the county where it stands *Sussex*. The same year (1630) the Dutch, under the direction of *David Petersen De Vries*, extended their settlements farther up the Bay of Delaware, on the western shore, even to the entrance of the river, as far as *Bomkey's Hook*, calling that part *Sawenendale* or *Swandale*, which names they retain to this day."

Dutch vessels came before 1630, as appears from the purchase made in

A place was selected, a house erected and surrounded with palisadoes, without the precaution of parapets. This was their fort, house of commerce, and place of rendezvous. The climate during the winter was so mild, they suffered no inconvenience.* In the spring and summer they erected shelters, prepared fields, and commenced their cultivation. This settlement extended to a fertile valley some distance from their fort,† and the whole plantation, as included within the limits of Goodyn's purchase, reaching to The Little Trees Corner‡ received no other denomination than *Swaenendael*, or valley of swans.§

No other Europeans now occupied the river. The little fort Nassau had been abandoned, and was in possession of the Indians.|| Captain May had departed the country, and what

1629, (see note ante.) In 1628 the little Fresh Water river (Schuyl kill, that is, *hidden creek*) was discovered, says Stuyvesant's letter to Nicolls, in 1664. The Dutch no doubt visited this river often after they built fort Nassau; but it is very doubtful whether any other fort was at Hoar kill than that which De Vries's colony erected, if it was at Hoar kill, in 1630. It may be that when he returned in the fall of 1631, and concluded a peace with the natives at Swaenendael, he there built a fort to protect his fishery; or if his first fort was here erected, it could not have been, according to the received opinion, (in Kort Verhael, &c.; Smith's New Jersey, p. 22, &c. and Proud's Pennsylvania, p. 113-114, &c.) at the spot where Lewis town, or *Lewes*, was built. Swaenendael and *Boompjes Hoek*, (not Bompt, Bumpo, Bomkey, nor Bombay Hook) have been considered by some to be the same spot. Its Indian name was *Cannaresse*. Acrelius, the Swedish historian of New Sweden, says the Dutch had a fort at Hoer kill (now Lewis) about the year 1638.

* De Vries says, except the wind blew from mountains supposed to be covered with snow at the west, they could "unshirt themselves" in the woods without inconvenience, and vegetables may be raised if protected in the night. Professor Kalm (in *Travels*) confirms the accounts of the mildness of the Delaware, from Swedish traditions. See also De Laet, b. 3 ch. 7. 11. and Kort Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandt.

† It is conjectured as far as Slaughter creek in Sussex county, state of Delaware.

‡ *Boompjes Hoek*. corrupted into Bombay Hook. See note ante.

§ This was in Sussex and Kent counties, state of Delaware.

|| De Vries, after his colony was exterminated, sailed up the river, and arrived, he says, "before the little fort Nassau, where formerly lived some families of the West Indian Company," &c.

was rare in the first intercourse of Europeans with the natives, had gained their esteem, and secured a traditionary fame to his memory.

It has, however, been affirmed that a colony of Swedes and Finns settled this year (1631) on the west bank of the river; that on their arrival at Cape Henlopen, they were so delighted with the country, they named it Paradise point, and that they bought of the Indians the land from that cape to *Santickan*.^{*} This is an error in respect to the period of their arrival, as will be exhibited when the actual settlement of the colony of *Nya Sverige*† shall be mentioned. The mistake, perhaps, arose from an ignorance of the nativity of De Vries and his colonists.‡ The Swedes had long intended to found there a colony. Wilhelm Usselinx, a Hollander, who had some connexion with the Dutch West Indian company soon after its organization, and had become an eminent merchant at Stockholm, proposed as early as in 1624, to King Gustavus Adolphus, the plan of a Swedish trading company, (similar to the privileged Dutch West Indian company) the operations of which should extend to Asia, Africa, and America. Gustavus approving a plan which would give to the commerce of his kingdom a scope and an activity highly conducive to the interests of his subjects, granted a commission at Stockholm, on the 21st day of December, 1624, authorising Usselinx to proceed in his project. Articles were drawn by him in the Dutch language, for the approbation and signature of a company. His design being to found a colony on the South river, he illustrated his project, by superadding to the proposed articles of incorporation an address, in which he described the fertility, conveniences, and advantages of the country, and exhorted the Swedes with great earnestness to favour by engaging in its colonization. The principal reasons which he urged upon them were: 1st. That the Christian religion would thereby be propagated among the heathen.

* Falls of Trenton.

† Or *Nova Suecia*—New Sweden.

‡ See note ante, page 406.

2d. That his Majesty would enlarge his dominions, enrich his treasury, and lessen the public dues. 3dly. That it would be generally very advantageous to the people. The privileges proposed in the articles were liberal to the members of the company, and Usselinx himself was to reserve the one thousandth part of all the goods which the company should buy and sell. In consideration of these exertions, Gustavus issued a proclamation from Stockholm, July 2d, 1626, exhorting his subjects to contribute to the formation of such a company. The plan was recommended by the King to the States, and confirmed by them in the diet of 1627. Many persons of every rank, from the king to common subjects, subscribed. An admiral, a vice admiral, merchants, assistants, commissaries, and a military force were appointed, and the company received the denomination of the South company.* In the

* Thus far Swedish and other writers substantially agree, particularly Thomas Campanius in *Beskrifning om Nya Sverige*, Stockholm, 1702, and Israel Acrelius in *Beskrifning om de Swenske Forsamlingars Fordna och Nåvaranda Tilstand uti det så Kallade Nya Sverige Sedan Nya Netherland, &c.* Stockholm, 1759. These are the two original authorities upon which most writers have founded their statements respecting New Sweden: statements more or less correct in proportion to the reliance which has been placed upon the one or the other. Thomas Campanius Holm, in his description of New Sweden, is probably very nearly correct with regard to the progress of the projected company, up to the period referred to in the text. These facts he may have derived from authentic sources. His observations respecting the aspect of the country, local names, &c. may be generally correct, as he resided on New Sweedland stream, (as the Swedes called the Delaware) where his grandfather had been a Swedish minister. He does not directly say when the Swedes first came. He observes that soon after this (*viz.* after the subscription in 1627) "the Swedes and Finns went to South river, and as their writers assure us, purchas'd the land from Cape Henlopen to the falls of Delaware." At another place he observes incidentally, "that Christiana fort was the first built when the Swedes arrived in 1631," &c. In another part he says, that in 1631, the Swedish Ambassador obtained a quit claim from King Charles of England, of his title by discovery, and the Swedes purchased also from the States General their right to the river, on account of having built three forts before the Swedes arrived. In these and many other statements he is loose, incoherent, and inaccurate. (See a part of his work translated in *N. Y. Hist. Collections*, vol. II.) It is agreed that the fort Christina was

following year (1628) it was concluded to gather the subscriptions, cause the money to be paid in March and May, and foreclose the further admission of members.

named in honour of the Queen, who did not ascend the throne till after 1631. The settlement of De Vries's colony in 1630-31, and his visit the next year and following winter, when he explored the river, and finally De Vries's statement made several years afterwards, when in the time of Kieft he visited the Swedish Governor Printz, and expressly says that now the Swedes had three forts, whereas when he was on the river before, there were no Swedes, is a satisfactory evidence that Campanius was mistaken.

But on this loose authority, several American as well as European writers have placed the arrival of the Swedes in 1631, and some of them as early as 1627. See Proud's *Pennsylvania*; Smith's *Nova Cæsaria*, or *New Jersey*; Holmes's *Annals*; Catteau's view of Sweden; Sprengel, *Geschichte der Europeers in America*. Raynal, who places their arrival about the year 1636, approaches nearest to the truth. But the authority of Acrelius is the most unquestionable on this point, and consequently the Swedes arrived in 1633. This also agrees with the time when the Dutch protested against the erection of their first fort, viz. in May 1633. The protest was one of the first measures of Gov. Kieft, and is in the Dutch records.

Acrelius wrote his work (*Description of the Swedish Congregations, their former and present condition in the so called New Sweden, afterwards New Netherland, &c.*) at a period auspicious for correct investigation. He was provost of the Swedish congregations in America and rector of Christina, but in 1759, (the date of his book) provost and rector of Fellingbro. His work is in possession of the venerable Swedish Minister Nicholas Collin, at Philadelphia, who translated Acrelius at the request of Dr. Miller in 1799. The Rev. Mr. Collin observed that he had consulted many of the authorities cited by Acrelius and found them correct, but that "Acrelius himself was a sufficient voucher." (This manuscript is in MSS. of New-York Hist. Soc.) Professor Ebelings' *Geschichte der Staats New Jersey*, relies upon Acrelius as his authority for a very brief account of the arrival of the Swedes. The acute and learned investigator Peter S. Du Ponceau, in a discourse on the first settlement of Pennsylvania, places the arrival of the Swedes in 1638, and says that they were destined as a colony to continue only till the year that closed the reign of Christina, and the life of Oxenstierna. A contemporary authority with the Swedes, Andries Huddie, one of Van Twiller's officers, and a commissary on the South river, or Delaware, in the time of Governor Kieft, made an official report respecting the Swedes, (recorded in the Dutch records) in which Huddie says that John Printz (the Governor of New Sweden) "openly declared at his table, on the 3d June, 1647, in presence of Huddie and his wife," that "the company (Dutch West India Company) had no right whatever on this

But the intervention of the German war suspended all operations, and the death of the king proved fatal to the main project. The subordinate plan of a colony on the south river was not revived until several years after Gustavus fell, in the arms of victory, at the head of his cavalry, on the plains of Lutzen : it was during the minority of his daughter, the virgin queen of Sweden, but under the sanction of her chancellor, the renowned Axel Oxenstierna, that the scheme was revived, from intervening causes and through agents different from those of its projection. For while the death of Gustavus (1632) arrested the progress of all operations, the fate of De Vries's colony, the same year, was to prepare the country for the reception of the Swedes ; and as the first plan had been conceived by one native of Holland, so the last was to be executed by another.

As yet, (1631-2) the Dutch were, however, in tranquil possession at *Swan-valley*. They deduced their right, not only from the legitimate source, the purchased consent of the natives, but from the discovery of the bay by Hudson in 1609, and the occupation of the river as early as 1623. The English also claimed it, as having been discovered by Lord *De la War* in 1610. Whether he took such formal possession* of the bay, as did away the right of the Dutch in consequence of the informal visit of Hudson ; whether the undefined discovery of the Cabots precluded the force and validity of either, or whether the United Provinces at that time were so far admitted into the community of nations, as to be entitled to derive any right by discovery, are speculative problems, which it is not necessary at present to discuss. It is certain, that the patent to Virginia covered this district, but equally so

river—that he (Gov. Printz) purchased the land in behalf of the crown of Sweden—that the company could not trust on their old uninterrupted possession—the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but he sometimes admitted a younger one," &c. Dutch records, Vol. XVII. This adds to the other proof that the Dutch were the first settlers on the Delaware.

* Hume, (in reign of king James I.) says, that if a pirate or sea-adventurer stuck a stick or stone on a coast, it was considered the foundation of a title to a whole continent, regardless of the rights of the natives.

that the Dutch in their occupation, were so far recognised, that Governor John Harvey and his council of Virginia, by whose orders every part of their patented limits had been explored, did, in March (1631-2) grant to William Cleyborne a license to traffic "into the adjoining plantations of the Dutch."* It is also true, that King Charles in the dismemberment of Virginia, by a patent this year (1632) to the son of Lord Baltimore, as far as the Estuary† of the Delaware, was influenced by the prior suggestion of Lord Baltimore, that the country was uninhabited by christians—a suggestion which, though true when made, had, when the patent was granted, become nugatory in effect, by the intervening colony of the Dutch.‡

* See Chalmers' Political Annals, 207-9. Had Dr. Chalmers known of the existence of the colony of *Swaenendael*, he would have probably yielded to the natural import of these words, and spared the imputation upon the English Commissioners, of their acting under the influence of passion, or from the suggestions of an interested man, when they decided in the controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, that the western banks of the Delaware had been settled upon by Europeans before his patent.

† See the patent and limits described in a short description of the first settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c. See also, Bosman's Maryland.

‡ The Hon. James Logan, deceased, in a letter in 1717, to John Page, Esq. an eminent member of the English bar, whom the trustees of the province of Pennsylvania had employed to defend their right against the endeavours of the Earl of Southerland, to obtain from the crown a grant of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware; to prove that these counties were always esteemed a part of New-York colony, and embraced within the charter to William Penn from the Duke of York, says: "In that 'state of the claims of the two proprietors Lord Baltimore and William Penn,' though the title is not expressly mentioned, yet the story of those counties is faithfully related to the best of my knowledge. It is there shown from *D. Heylin's Cosmography*, whose first editions are ancient, that New Netherlands extended, to the westward and southward of Delaware river and bay; that the Dutch had planted the western side of it, and built two towns, viz. Hoar Kill, (now Lewis) and Sandy Hook, (now Newcastle); that this river and the North, being taken, &c. came under the government of the Duke of York," &c. &c. (This letter is among other manuscripts of the late Mr. Logan, in possession of his venerable and learned widow.)

The Dutch, not unapprised, however, of the controversial nature of their pretensions, and yielding to the prevailing opinion that some sign of a formal possession was necessary, erected, at Swan-valley, a pillar, with a piece of tin affixed to it, on which was figured the emblem of Holland. This was a substitute for the arms of their High Mightinesses, and a commemoration of their title over that of other christian powers. The cabalistic properties of these emblematic figures were incomprehensible to the Indians. They had not been initiated in the refined subtlety of a theory, which, in practice, was to give one European nation a greater right than another, over a territory which neither could justly claim, without the permission of the natives. One of their chiefs, therefore, one day, very innocently and very uncere- moniously, took away the figured tin in order to manufacture it into tobacco pipes. The officers of the colony were in a rage. The act was viewed as much in the double light of a national insult and a theft, as if the Indians had known the prevailing refinement of European theory, or appreciated the sacredness of distinct rights of property. They viewed the soil as their common heritage, derived as a gift from the Great Spirit to their fore-fathers : in its enjoyment, or in that of the fruits of the forest that covered its surface, and of the streams that diversified its scenery, all was a unity of interest, and one common board of hospitality.

At this unfortunate crisis, (1632) De Vriez had gone to Holland, leaving in his absence, Gillis Osset, as *opper-hoof*t, or commander. His ignorance, unenlightened by the experience—and his rashness, undisciplined by the discretion of the founder of the colony, hastened its lamentable catastrophe. Nothing, on the part of the Indians, could appease the anger of the commander. So much jangling took place, and so much dissatisfaction was expressed, that the Indians, not knowing how to reconcile matters otherwise, cut off the head of the offending chief, and brought a token of the deed to Osset. He now perceived his error ; but as one error has usually its associates, and rashness when habitual, is seldom succeeded by the prudence necessary to repair its ra-

vages, he took no precaution to prevent the consequences of so unequal and exasperating a punishment for so trifling an injury. He merely told the Indians that they had done wrong; they should have brought the chief to be reprimanded, and then he would have been dismissed. But Indians were taught from childhood to esteem revenge as a virtue. The law of retaliation existed in full vigour. It was their inalienable right—it constituted the moral force of their union and government—the source of their wars and triumphs, and not unfrequently the cause of their domestic woes and national calamities. If the venerable elders, or the congregated chiefs and counsellors, interposed their authority in cases of private revenge, it was to assuage the vindictive feelings by advice, by persuasion, and by presents, to save perhaps the threatened extermination of a whole tribe or family. If they themselves came forward as avengers, they did so to vindicate the honour of their nation, by sanctioning the operations of war parties, or by sitting in judgment when the sacred right of the calumet of peace had been violated, or retorting the blow, when the wound had been given to them, through the person of one of their head men or sachems. In such a case as this, not only the surviving relatives of the deceased, and the particular friends with whom, according to the Indian custom, he had formed the league of inviolable fidelity, but the members of his clan, were all interested to enforce the law of revenge.

If, as appears to have been the fact in the present instance, the members of the chieftain's clan, had doomed him to his fate, the retributive punishment which was still claimed as the right of his immediate relations and friends to inflict, recoiled from the direct agents to the supposed principals in the act. Accordingly, the friends of the beheaded chief now resolved to inflict upon the colony of the valley a vengeance, so ample in its scope, that not one white man should breathe on their territory, or escape to recount the fate of his comrades. The opportunity for this purpose was not distant, nor, in the unsuspecting state of the colonists, was the execution to be difficult. The season of tillage had arrived, and they

were sedulously engaged in the cultivation of tobacco and grain upon their fields, at some distance from the fortified house. The colony consisted of thirty-four persons. The Indians having concerted measures—a sufficient party of their resolute men were designated, and they selected as the most favourable period, that when the colonists to the number of thirty-two were thus engaged, while the commander and one sentinel only remained at the house. To surprise them, and possess the fort, was the first object. The house had no protecting ramparts, but being merely surrounded with palisades, the defence would have proved powerless against a multitude of exasperated Indians, even had not cunning and stratagem, instead of open force, been resorted to, and among them considered, perhaps, more than they were among the ancient Spartans, a fair substitute for courage. Indeed, on this occasion, a resort to open force would have been useless, for the entrance to the fortification was thrown open, especially to those Indians that came, as was usual, to trade away their peltry. The hostile party having placed themselves in ambush, three of their boldest warriors were detached to perpetrate the first act of their purpose. Armed with their customary weapons, bows, arrows, tomahawks, or axes, they sallied forth like so many huntsmen from the chase, and with their arms filled with parcels of beaver skins, proceeded to the fort.

Passing the sentinel without interruption, but cautiously avoiding and fearfully eyeing a large bull dog, which was chained outside of the house, they advanced towards the commander who stood near the door, and with countenances, in which their horrid secret was effectually disguised by the smile of treacherous friendship and obsequiousness, offered to him their beavers to barter, and made signs of request to enter the house. He went in with them to transact the business, which having finished, he proceeded to the garret where the public goods were kept, in order to obtain the equivalent promised in the exchange. In his absence, the Indians posted themselves near the staircase, and awaited, with fiend-like impatience, the reappearance of the commander. The mo-

ment he descended, one of them cleft his head with an axe, and he fell dead on the floor. At the same instant, they rushed on the sentinel, and murdered him in like manner. Their next attention was directed to the bull dog, which, though chained, they viewed as the most formidable obstacle. So much, indeed, was their terror in beholding this animal, that they avoided him at such a distance, that at least twenty-five arrows were discharged before they killed him. Having accomplished the possession of the fort, they now hurried forward to execute the remaining and most difficult part of their plan. The colonists, however, were busily engaged, as before observed, and were unarmed, unsuspecting, and scattered. To them the appearance of parties of Indians would excite no fear, for they were surrounded by numerous tribes, and they had been accustomed, without any molestation, to behold parties of warriors and hunters pass and repass their settlement. The Indians having united their full force, hastened to the fields—but leisurely advanced towards the colonists, with the careless air of idle curiosity, and friendly salutation, as if they had been attracted thither barely to witness the white man's patient and superior skill, in obtaining subsistence from their common mother, the earth. Circumspectly watching the signal of their concerted movement, they suddenly fell upon the unwary victims, and butchered, one after another, until all were massacred. The bodies of the murdered were left on the ground, the store-house was rased, the palisadoes torn up and burnt, and the Indians became once more sole monarchs of the country.

In December,* De Vriez returned from Holland. He re-

* “ Dec. 1st, (1632.) We sounded at 39°, had 57 fathoms, sand, and smelled land, (the wind being N. W.) occasioned by the odour of the underwood, which in this time of the year is burned by the Indians, in order to be less hindered in their hunting; we smell therefore the land before we can see it; at 13 or 14 fathom, we saw land—from 34° to 40°. The 3d we saw the opening of the south-bay or south river—we went the 5th in the bay. We had a whale near the vessel. We promised ourselves great things—plenty whales and good land for cultivation.” De Vriez? Voyage, MS. copy, translated by Dr. G. Troost of Philadelphia—the original in the library of the library committee of that city.

entered the bay, where the silence and solemnity of death prevailed. A cannon was fired, but the natives had fled. The ensuing day, some of them were visible near the verge of the forest. De Vriez in his boat, ascended the creek to that part of the valley which was strewed with the 'heads and bones' of his murdered countrymen. He beckoned and exclaimed "*rancontyn mariniet.*" But words importing peace were received with guilty hesitation. At last, one of the most fearless entered the boat, and was rewarded by a present for his confidence. His example was gradually followed; and De Vriez, having collected a circumstantial account of the destruction of his colony, next day met the assembled chiefs, formed with them a treaty of peace, with its usual accompaniments of presents—and the Indians departed, overjoyed to find that no retribution was exacted for the blood of the colony. He deemed this pacific measure the true policy—instead of waging war against an itinerant people; and knew also, that reconciliation was consonant to the wishes of the directors of the West-Indian Company, who, when solicited, refused to allow a war.

The tragical fate of the colony deterred Goodyn, Van Rensselaer, and the other patroons, from engaging in the second enterprise, and De Vriez had undertaken it on his own responsibility. He brought a small number of people with the design, partially to cultivate the soil, but principally to pursue the whale fishery. This resulting less profitably than he had anticipated, he remained four months only. In this interim, though nothing very remarkable occurred in the adventures of the colonists, yet to show the precariousness of their condition and the state of the country, it may not be unimportant to notice some incidents. De Vriez, in order to obtain supplies of provision for his people, visited the Indians on the south river, beyond the deserted Fort Nassau. Upon his approach, they listened to his request, and urged him to go into the Timmerkil.* But warned by a female,† that the

* Carpenter's Creek, opposite Quequenaku, (Philadelphia.)

† Many instances of the friendship of the female natives occur in the

crew of a vessel had lately been there murdered, he returned to Fort Nassau. It was thronged with Indians. More than forty entered his boat ; some played on reeds, and others offered beavers. De Vriez had seven men only, whose vigilant eyes were directed to every movement of the Indians, and whose suspicion of their intention becoming sufficiently confirmed, they were ordered on shore, with threats of being fired upon, and with a declaration that their *Manetto* had revealed the wickedness of their intention. After this, sixteen chiefs formed a circle on the shore, and invited De Vriez to make peace, declaring that they had discarded all evil designs. A peace was ratified, with the formalities of presents, the purpose of each of which was explained by a speech—but on this occasion the Indians refused, though urged by De Vriez through his interpreter, to accept any presents ; the former declaring that they did not now give presents for the sake of obtaining others in return.

Failing to procure corn on the south river, and conceiving it impossible that he should find any at “ the large river near Fort Amsterdam,” he resolved to go to Virginia for provisions for his return voyage, and enjoy at the same time the pleasure of being the first visitor to that province from New Netherland. This he accomplished. While in Virginia,* he learned from the governor that he had sent a party to the Delaware, who had never returned. This was conjectured to have been the same that had been assassinated—a circumstance which shows the hostility which, at that period, actuated the Indians towards all Europeans.

Having succeeded in the object of his visit, and received from the governor a peculiar present,† for his colony, De Vriez returned in April (1633), and learning that the whale-

annals of the colonies, from the time of the heroic example of Pocahontas to that of the female that saved Fort Detroit from the fate which Pontiac had visited upon Mackinaw.

* De Vriez says he saw here, for the first time, a peach tree.

† Six goats. These were, no doubt, brought to Fort Amsterdam, and were the parents of a very numerous and troublesome progeny. They had been introduced to Virginia in 1611.

fishery had proved unsuccessful, he hastened* his departure, and with the other colonists embarked for Holland, visiting on his way Fort Amsterdam, where he arrived on the sixteenth of that month.

He was welcomed into the fort by Wouter van Twiller, who had arrived from Holland with sole power, as the second governor of New Netherland. The ship *Salt Mountain*,† then lying before the fort—a vessel of twenty guns,‡ fifty-two sailors, and one hundred and four soldiers, had borne the director general to his new government.§

Governor Minuit had been recalled and displaced by the directors of the company, and his secretary and chief commissary, a victim to the factions that had rent the colony, shared the disgrace of his master.|| A disagreement, whether fomented by intrigue, or resulting from mismanagement or accident, had arisen between Minuit and his principals, and Van Twiller enjoyed the honours which the misfortunes or

* His people during his absence, had taken but seven whales in Goodyn's bay, or the Delaware, which gave 32 "carteels" of fish oil.

† *Soutberg*.

‡ Four brass and sixteen iron guns. De Laet's History of the West India Company, gives the rate, &c. of this ship.

§ "16th April, 1633," (says De Vriez in his Journal) "we weighed anchor and went to Staten Island, where we arrived about noon, opposite Fort Amsterdam. We found there the ship *De Zoutberg*, belonging to the West Indian Company. It had on board the new commander, named *Wouter van Twiller*, from Nieuw-Kerke. He had been a clerk of the West Indian Company at Amsterdam, and he left Holland after we had been gone. I went on shore near the fort, he bade me welcome and asked how the whale fishery had fallen out. I told him that I had a sample of it, and that they were fools who came here at such expense to fish for whales. The company could have known how this fishery was, by sending two or three sloops from the settlement here. At least Godyn, who since the West Indian Company had been in existence, was one of its directors, and also a director of the Greenland Whale Company, ought to have known that these things should have been tried at less expense." De Vriez' Voyages to New Netherland, MS. copy, in Loganian Library—translated by Doctor Gideon Troost of Philadelphia. (Note, the above extract seems to settle the date of Van Twiller's arrival, in confirmed authority.)

|| Acrelius and Gov. Bradford.

the folly of his predecessor had forfeited. Remunt succeeded Razier. Notleman was Van Twiller's high-sheriff and attorney-general.† The members of his council, composing also the commercial gradations of upper koopman, under koopman, koopman, and assistant, were, besides the above officers, Andries Huddie and Jaques Bertyn; Sebastiaen Croll appears as first commissary of Fort Orange, while Jaques Elckens now held the rank of koopman over the North river; and Jacobus van Corlaer seems to have been Van Twiller's chief trumpeter.‡

Minuit had not lost his ambition with his authority. With a knowledge of New Netherland, resulting from an experience of nine years, he proceeded from Holland to Sweden, where Queen Christina had just been elected, and under her patronage, or rather that of her illustrious chancellor, it will appear that he became the founder of New-Sweden, on the banks of the river which had so lately been made desolate by the destruction of one colony and the departure of another.

Before the arrival of Van Twiller, little progress was made in the settlements of Pavonia and Renselaerwyck. It does not appear that the lord of Achthienhoven took effectual measures to settle Pavonia, or retain its title, unless as trustee for the company. Though denominated the colony of Michael Pauuw, it reverted, finally, to the company, either by concession or compulsion. De Heer Van Renselaer had not yet arrived in New Netherland, but had shipped some colonists with farming stock, implements and necessaries, and caused some houses to be erected.§ The first large island south of Fort Orange was cultivated,|| and on this, *Renselaerburgh*, afterwards the place of residence of the patroon, was laid out.¶

† *De Heer-Officier* or *Hoofd-Schout* and *Procureur-general*, two offices blended in one, and synonymous with high-sheriff and attorney-general. De Vriez and Dutch Records.

‡ See further, a list of names at the end of Van Twiller's administration.

§ Renselaerwyck MSS.

|| By Brant Pyle.

¶ See Map of Renselaerwyck.

The patroons in Holland were at variance among themselves, and with the directors of the company. The controversy among the patroons particularly related to the South river, where the largest grants had been monopolized; and the dispute with the company referred to the extent of limits, and the validity of the charter of liberties and exemptions of 1629. The subject was submitted to the Lords Commissioners of the College of XIX, when the preliminary inquiry, whether the charter had been fairly obtained and was binding, was decided in the affirmative. Committees were appointed to reconcile the patroons with each other and with the company, the controversy was submitted to the States-General, when they clearly recognised, perhaps for the first time, the existence of *New Netherland*, and adopted measures to produce a reconciliation.* This may have been effected, as be-

* Extract from the Report of Resolutions of the Directors of the West Indian Company, Department Amsterdam. 24th Nov. 1633.

The *gravamina* delivered by the patroons of the South river Colony being read, is resolved, to refer it to the commissaries of N. Netherland—when first was moved—if the conditions granted to the colonies, were deemed legal, which being answered in the affirmative, it was concluded, that the commissaries of N. Netherland should further examine the patrons in regard to the colonial affairs, how far the limits of their jurisdiction in their opinion ought to be extended. Vol. xiii. Dutch Records, p. 42.

DECEMBER 1633.

Extract from the Report of Resolutions of the *Lords Commissaries*, for the Department of the XIX. of the West Indian Company, now in session at Amsterdam. Monday, 19th Dec. 1633.

Appeared before the meeting, Michael Pauw, Hendrick Hamel, Nicolas van Sitterich, Kilian van Renselaer, and Samuel Blommert, who answered by mouth to the resolution of the 17th of this month, with regard to the colonists, when it was resolved, after mature consideration, to appoint a committee of five, to negotiate with them, who shall defend the claims of the company, and if it should happen that they could not agree upon the points in dispute, that in such a case it should be referred to a committee of their High Mightinesses, or one of the high court of justice.

Before this is to be executed, it is understood, that the privileges granted to the patroons and recorded in the Book of Resolutions of the XIX. are

tween the immediate parties, but another controversy of long standing, though finally adjusted, tended, in conjunction

deemed to have been legally acquired ; when there were directly chosen, Coenrad Velinck, Bruyn, Nicolai Delphyn, and Schresl.

MAY 13, 1634.

The States-General of the United Netherlands.

Honourable, respectful, and dearly beloved : Whereas we deputed this day some of our members, to agree and reconcile you with the other patroons, colonists of the colonies in New Netherland from the one side, and from the other with the committee of the directors of the West Indian Company, and the authorized principal partners (*hoofd-participanten*) about the present difficulties, with authorisation, to decide upon these differences, which they by a majority of votes may deem proper and just— And whereas our aforesaid deputies to meet for transacting this business on the 22d instant, so is it, that we deemed it becoming, to give you notice of it, with order, that having prepared themselves in every respect for this meeting, ye shall endeavour to be here in the Hague, on the evening of the 21st, to appear the next day, for the proposed purpose, before the aforesaid deputies, who then shall open the conferences, which therefore ye will not neglect, and make the same communication to the other patroons and colonists. Remain with this recommended to God. In the Hague, the 13th May, 1634.

S. VAN BEAUMONT.

By order of the above named States-General,

CORNELIS MUSCH.

(And was sealed with the seal of their High Mightinesses, the States-General, representing a lion with arrows in red wax.)

(The superscription was) Honourable, respectful, beloved Kilian van Renselaer, being, with his associates, patroon of a colony in New Netherland, and merchant in Amsterdam. Vol. xiii. Dutch Record, p. 43.

Note—The meeting was postponed upon the request of the West India Company, to July.—The final proceedings are not given. But from so much of them as has been preserved, we glean some important particulars.

(Extract from De Vriez.)

“ July 24, 1633. Arrived at Amsterdam, where I found my associates at variance with one another, and with other directors of the West India Company, because I had traded a few beaver skins, certainly a circumstance not worth the while to talk of, it being granted by the 15th article, that a patroon should have the privilege to do so where the company has an officer or commissioner, so that our colony-making was now suspended. The directors have done nothing but to fight with their own shadow. As I was at variance with my associates, and these being all directors of the

with the former quarrel, and with circumstances interwoven in the character, spirit, and policy of those who had a controlling influence over the affairs of New Netherland, to retard its growth and impair its prosperity.

Agriculture had, prior to the recall of Minuit, received but slight attention. Some stock had been transported by the company to their farms on the Manhattan, and the agricultural settlement on the west end of Long Island begun to extend in 1632.* Commerce had increased, the exports having nearly doubled, while the imports diminished gradually, during his administration. In its course of nine years the aggregate amount of exports was nearly two hundred thousand dollars in value; while the imports were a little more than one hundred thousand dollars.†

The friendly relations with New Plymouth had continued since 1627, notwithstanding Governor Minuit's peremptory refusal to relinquish the trade to Narraganset. But Plymouth, meantime, had acquired relations with some new colonies, the effect of which was to diminish the necessity of a direct intercourse or commercial interchange with New Netherland.

In 1628, the settlement of Salem was commenced. Next year, while the charter of liberties was granted to New Netherland, King Charles confirmed the charter of Massa-

West Indian Company, and they being continually quarreling with one another, I have resigned." De Vriez. "End of the 1st Voyage;" which included two trips to New Netherland.

It has been erroneously supposed, that about 1633 Kilian van Renselaer came over.

"Kilian van Renselaer came over with Van Cortlandt (who had been bred a carpenter) and brought a number of low people, indented servants and others not servants, for the purpose of planting *colonees*, as the Dutch called them." Judge Benson to Dr. Miller, in MSS. of N. Y. Hist. Soc.

* Governor Stuyvesant and Council, speaking of the attempt of the English to settle on Long Island in 1640, and their forcible removal by Kieft in the month of May, says, that "about eight years before, viz. 1632, this western part of Long Island had been actually settled and cultivated by the subjects of their High Mightinesses, eight or nine years before any other nation, or any part of Long Island had settled." Vol. xxii. Dutch Records, p. 91. † See Table of Exports and Imports next page.

chusetts, and the year following, while Renselaerwyck, Pavenonia, and Swan-valley in New Netherland, were founded, Governor Winthrop and fifteen hundred colonists arrived in Massachusetts, and laid out Dorchester, Charlestown, Watertown, Boston, and Roxbury. At the same period, the Earl of Warwick received a charter from the Council of Plymouth, for the territory one hundred miles along the shore

TABLE OF EXPORTS

From New Netherland, or returns to the West India Company—Chamber Amsterdam—the first nine years.

1624	4,000 beavers	700 otters,&c.	value 27,125 guilders.
1625	5,295 „	463 „	35,825
1626	7,258 „	857 „	45,050
1627	7,520 „	370 „	12,730
1628	6,951 „	734 „	61,075
1629	5,913 „	681 „	62,185
1630	6,041 „	1,085 „	68,012
1631	No Exports.		
1632	13,513 „	1,661 „	143,125
9 years	56,491 beavers	6,551 otters, &c.	454,127 guilders.
			Or \$189,219 : 58

TABLE OF IMPORTS

To New Netherland—by the Chamber of Amsterdam, the first nine years.

1624	In Two ships, goods, wares, &c.	value 25,569 guilders.
1625	Several ships, „	8,772
1626	Two ships, „	20,384
1627	Four ships, „	56,170
1628	No Imports.	
1629	Three ships, „	55,778
1630	Two ships „	57,499
1631	One ship, „	17,355
1632	One ship, „	31,320
18 ships		272,847 guilders.
		Or, \$113,686 : 25

Balance in favour of the Lords Proprietaries of the Colony,

\$75,533 : 33

Note—The above Table of Exports and Imports, during the first nine years of the regular established commerce of the colony, is founded on the authority of official statements, as given by De Laet, in his History of the West India Company.

south-west from Narraganset, and within that breadth from the Atlantic to the South Sea. This, which was the original charter of Connecticut, was assigned the year after to Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and their associates, among whom, it is said, were the famous John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. The advancement, therefore, of colonization in New England, was far more rapid than it had been in New Netherland ; but the causes that respectively operated to produce the diversity, were altogether different in their character and tendency. In the one case, religion became the powerful motive, and it introduced as auxiliaries, talent, enterprise, and skill. In the other, monopoly and aristocracy, with their cold and calculating selfishness, were in collision with the freedom of trade and the genius of liberty, and the consequences were withering to the blossom of promise which nature had so bountifully displayed in New Netherland.

During the occurrence of these events, a transfer by subjugation of territorial sovereignty among the Indians, was also destined to effect, materially, the relations between New Netherland and New England. The chief of the Pequods, the grand monarch of the country, to whose authority twenty-six Indian princes were amenable, had finished (1631) the conquest of the country from Narraganset towards the Dutch settlements. The subdued Mahiccans,* on the ' *Connecticoot* or *Sicagot*he river,' had been expelled from their country, and their sachems now strove to enlist the sympathies and obtain the aid of the New Englanders, in favour of a restoration to their ancient fire-sides. Mr. Winslow of Plymouth, made a journey to the Connecticut, and the impressive beauty of its surrounding landscape, fully realized the vision which the Dutch had so early, so earnestly, and at the time, so sincerely recommended to the attention of their friends at New Plymouth. It was apparent that the country possessed great facilities for agriculture, as well as trade ; and the Dutch not having taken any formal possession, the Plymouth people determined to avail themselves of the advice which they had

* Or, Mohegans, as usually pronounced.

received, and of the invitation which the Mahiccans now pressed upon them. Accordingly, Mr. Winslow and Governor Bradford visited Governor Winthrop at Boston, and invited him and his council to unite with Plymouth in a trade to the Connecticut, for hemp and beaver, and in the erection of a commercial house, representing this as necessary to prevent the Dutch from taking possession of that fine country. Governor Winthrop declined, because the Connecticut was inhabited by four thousand Indians, and the navigation of the river was seven months in the year obstructed by ice. To New Plymouth alone, was left the prosecution of the enterprise. The Dutch, meantime, had at Shallop-bay,* an Indian commander in their interest and service, and learning the intentions of New Plymouth, commissioned him (1633) to contract with *Nepaquate*, the Pequod conqueror, for the purchase of the land adjacent to that river, or at least, so much of it, as the Dutch could see from the trading-house which they should there erect. The purchase was completed : and while measures were concerted to give effect to it by a formal possession, New Plymouth, deriving its claims from the original owners, prepared to replace them in their country, and establish a settlement.

Thus was the commencement of Governor Van Twiller's administration signalized by a controversy which was the prelude to a series of rancorous, but bloodless hostilities, and of tantalizing vexations, unparalleled in all the colonial annals of North America.

* West channel of the Narraganset bay.

General Note for 1632—1633.

It seems that "*De Heer Minuit*" had been recalled some time before Van Twiller left Holland the last time for New Netherland. During the interim the council at Manhattan exercised the powers of government. Van Twiller, according to tradition, had staid in New Netherland a short time only after his first arrival in 1629. While absent, he conquered in 1632, from the public enemy, the yacht or caravel, the *Hope*, which with the *Wesel*, the *Prince William*, and one or two other small vessels, constituted the little navy of New Netherland. Minuit did not entirely neglect agriculture. He made some experiments. Canary seed, which he had introduced from the West Indies and planted, came up very well, but was afterwards neglected. It does not appear that he gave his attention, as his successor did, to the cultivation of tobacco. Perhaps the Virginians, who had now "found out the Dutch colony," had commenced a competition with Plymouth, and supplied tobacco for prices, and in quantities, that rendered the domestic cultivation inexpedient. But during Van Twiller's administration, the island Manhattan had numerous tobacco plantations, and before the close of his authority, New Netherland tobacco acquired a high reputation in Holland. Manhattan, which in the charter of liberties of 1629 was reserved by the company, appears to have been bought from the Indians, in small tracts at different times. The first purchase was for the purpose of a garden round the fort. This extended from the Capsey or point of the Battery, along the *Breed-weg*, or Broadway. The next, was a tract of land called the West India Company's *Bouvery* (i. e. farm) No. 1., directly northerly from the company's garden.* *Bouvery* No. 2. was east of this, extending north of the swamp. *Bouvery* No. 3. was at Tapohanican.† *Bouvery* No. 4. was near the plain of Manhattan,‡ and the neighbourhood of *de Kolck*,§ or fresh water pond, and two other farms, No. 5. and No. 6. were north of these. Stock had been sent from Holland by the company, and placed on some of these farms, which in the time of Minuit, had, through the aid of the company's negroes, been cultivated for supplying the garrison. Some fruit trees were also introduced, but the peach tree, it seems, was not found north of Virginia in 1633. Tobacco became the principal object, because it was an article of commerce. Van Twiller's mansion-house was on Farm No. 1, and his tobacco plantation on Farm No. 3. Overseers of the company's farms, as well as overseers of the company's negroes, were subordinate officers, and through their aid, Van Twiller cultivated the ground, cleared land, burnt lime, broke up rocks, commenced the reconstruction of Fort Amsterdam, and erected

* Farm No. 1 was from Wall-street to Hudson-street, along Broadway in New-York, and was after the English conquest, called the Duke's farm, the King's farm, the Queen's farm.

† Greenwich in New-York.

‡ Commons, or Park of the city.

§ Collect-street.

within it "the big house," where he and the members of his council convened to legislate, adjudicate, and execute. On the outside of the fort he built a church of rude materials. Persons in the service of the company and others, who came hither as settlers, and who could not be accommodated within the fort, received grants of lots around it, built low houses, with gable-ends fronting the shore; and hence was formed the semicircular street called Pearl-street, which at first extended a short distance only beyond the fort. Some of the public structures were of Holland brick, covered with Holland tiles. The majority of private dwellings were constructed of wood, and covered with reed or straw roofs, and had wooden chimnies. Corn was ground, and it seems boards were sawed by wind-mills, of which two or three were erected by Minuit. One was on the south-east bastion of the fort, another on the high ground of farm No. I, and a saw-mill was built by Van Twiller on Nut Island.*

A wind-mill was at first, in the contemplation of the Indians, "the world's wonder; they durst not come near his long arms, and big teeth biting the corn to pieces," as they expressed it. The appearance of negroes also confounded all the ideas of the natives, who had looked upon the whites as Manittoes, or supernatural beings. "The blacks," exclaimed the Indians, "were the true breed of devils." They were, therefore, for a long time called Manettoes by the Indians. The expenses on the civil list, in the time of Minuit, might probably be determined, if the "Books of Monthly wages," which he and his successor sent to Amsterdam, could be found among the ancient papers of the West India Company. The highest wages allowed to subordinate officers, were those to the secretary of New Netherland; at first, ex officio book-keeper, and afterwards *Geheym Schryver*, or recorder of secrets, whose pay, according to the earliest records of the Dutch, was 36 guilders (\$15) per month, and 200 guilders (\$83 : 33) for board annually. Minuit's salary as Governor, may have exceeded a little this sum, and then it would appear to have been a much more lucrative office than that of his contemporary, Governor Bradford. For so much in these days was the prevailing spirit of equal liberty, so little did office secure distinction without merit, so little was honour attached to station, unless dignity was conferred by the incumbent, so little was avarice pampered into a venal fondness for official rank, and so little did ambition aspire to high places in New Plymouth, that a law was passed by the General Court in 1632, that whoever should refuse to accept the office of Governor, should forfeit twenty pounds sterling, unless chosen two years successively; and whoever declined the office of counsellor or magistrate, should pay ten pounds. The next year (1633) Governor Bradford having been Governor about ten years, "now by importunity got off," and Edward Winslow was chosen Governor. Thus he, and Wouter Van Twiller, commenced simultaneously the government of their respective colonies.

* *Nooten-Eylandt*. Governor's Island in New-York bay.

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